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FRENCH PAINTING

BY
R. H. WILENSKI

AUTHOR OF
"AN INTRODUCTION TO DUTCH ART,"
"THE MODERN MOVEMENT IN ART," ETC.



LONDON
THE MEDICI SOCIETY
MCMXXXI

TO
HARRY LAWRENCE
WHOSE KNOWLEDGE AND ENTHUSIASM
HAVE HELPED ME
IN COMPILING
THIS BOOK

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Berlin</i>	Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin
<i>Boston</i>	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
<i>Chantilly</i>	Musée Condé, Chantilly
<i>Chicago</i>	Art Institute, Chicago
<i>Detroit</i>	Institute of Art, Detroit
<i>Hague</i>	The Mauritshuis, The Hague
<i>Hermitage</i>	Hermitage Gallery, Leningrad
<i>Liechtenstein</i>	Prince Liechtenstein's Coll., Vienna
<i>Louvre</i>	Paris, The Louvre
<i>Munich</i>	Alte Pinakothek, Munich
<i>N.G.</i>	National Gallery, London
<i>Prado</i>	Madrid, The Prado
<i>Tate</i>	National Gallery of British Art, Millbank
<i>Wallace</i>	Wallace Collection, London

PREFACE

i. *The Importance of the Present*

THE study of art-history is stupid and dangerous pedantry unless it helps us to understand and appreciate the original painting of our own day.

We have not made the most of a visit to Chartres Cathedral unless the direct observation and calligraphic technique of the glass paintings (Pl. 2) have helped us to understand the direct observation and calligraphic technique in the work of The Douanier Rousseau (Pl. 139) who died in 1910, and of M. Henri Matisse (Pl. 144), who is painting in Paris to-day.

We have misunderstood the art of Claude le Lorrain unless we realise that his approach to nature, as revealed in his drawings (Pls. 126b and 128a), was the same in character as that of Cézanne (Pls. 125, 127, and XII) and of the modern painter M. André Derain (Pls. 126a and 128b).

We have missed the most helpful significance of the intimate contact with root simplicities that we find in the *Virgin* (Pl. 8), ascribed to the Maître de Moulins, unless it has enabled us to enjoy the same quality in *La petite fille à l'éventail* (Pl. 140) by Pablo Picasso, the central artist of the *École de Paris* in the first quarter of our own century.

According to most art-historians painting always becomes chaotic and decadent about the moment they were born. Rose Kingsley wrote in 1899 a well-informed *History of French Art, 1100-1899*, in which she had assistance from Léonce Bénédict, *Conservateur du Musée du Luxembourg*, André Michel, *Conservateur au Musée du Louvre*, and Roger Marx, *Inspecteur principal des Musées*; in this book the names of Cézanne, Seurat, Gauguin and Van Gogh are not mentioned though in 1899 Cézanne was sixty, Seurat had been dead nine years, Van Gogh eight, and Gauguin had already painted all his most celebrated pictures. M. Louis Hourticq, an art-historian of enormous erudition and brilliant powers of analysis and synthesis, writing the history of French art as recently as 1919, thirteen years after Cézanne's death and sixteen years after the death of Gauguin, speaks of them as "*avant garde*" painters, and describes their work as

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"decadent"—the art-historian's favourite adjective for recent or contemporary painting which he does not understand; and even Spengler, in his majestic attempt to master the principles of the morphology of art history, has clearly imagined that art became "chaotic" somewhere about 1870.

I have not, I hope, fallen into that particular error in this book. I know that the art of the present is more important to us than the art of the past; I know that French art did not cease after David and Ingres, or after the Impressionists, or after Gauguin and Van Gogh; and I know that it has not ceased after the Cubist-Classical Renaissance. I know that Degas was important because he made the work of Toulouse-Lautrec possible; that Cézanne and Seurat were important because they opened paths for Picasso and Matisse; and that these artists in their turn are important because they have opened up fresh fields for the original artists who have succeeded them. I know that the business of the art-historian is to try to understand the original work of his own day and to regard the art of the past as material for that end; and I know that in so doing the historian is approaching the art of the past in exactly the spirit in which it has always been approached by original artists themselves.¹

ij. *A Picture is an Object*

A picture is an object. Behind that object there stands the artist; in front there stands the spectator.

Art history is concerned with these objects and the artists who made them. Art critics, æsthetic philosophers, and recorders of their own reactions—whom we may call "writers on art" to distinguish them from the art-historians—are concerned with the objects and the spectators.

It is the fashion among writers on art at the moment to maintain that art history is dull and useless, and that only writing about art is of value.

I do not agree. Firstly because, as I have said, art history can help us to understand contemporary production; and secondly

¹ As Watteau, for example, approached Giorgione in 1716, and Manet approached Giorgione in 1863 (cf. Pls. 46a, 46b, 97b).



Worcester (Mass.) — Art Museum

FIRST SCHOOL OF AVIGNON. Virgin and Child with Saint and Donor.



Fig. 100. 100. 101.

GLASS PAINTING (XIIIth CENTURY). Heads from Windows.

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because in a restaurant where *Kedgere* is always on the menu I want to know what every dish is made of before I begin to eat it.

iii. *We cannot understand a Picture by just looking at it*

An interest in an object involves an interest in its character, which can only be discovered when we know the purpose of the object and the conditions of its production.

We cannot understand and discover the real character of a picture by just looking at it. We can only discover it by finding out the aims of the artist and learning something of his environment.

iv. *The Importance of Money*

A picture is an object made by a man. A man cannot paint unless he is alive. A man cannot remain alive unless he owns, makes, or is given money.

At all periods pictures have been produced as trade objects to make money. At some periods there have also been pictures that can only be described as products of the spirit.

The first thing to discover in order to understand a picture is whether it belongs to the one category or the other.

It is only in this way that we can arrive at its social or metaphysical significance.

At the present moment there are literally thousands of men painting pictures all day all over Europe and America. Unless the work of these men has a metaphysical or social justification it is worthless.

There have been times, as I show in this book, when the necessity of a social justification for picture-painting was taken for granted, and when artists were expected to earn their living by their work.

At the present moment it is fashionable to maintain that a picture-painting need have no social justification; that it is purely a metaphysical activity.

In practice this means that the artists who are now ranked most highly are the artists with independent incomes and the fanatics who regard the painting of pictures as a vocation of

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such value that it should absolve them from the necessity of earning their living and justify them in demanding to be kept by other people.

v. *Do we need these Gentlemen and Fanatics?*

We have arrived at this point of view because since the French Revolution all the most conspicuously original artists have been Frenchmen or foreigners working in Paris; and in Paris since the Revolution there has been no real social demand for pictures.

In these circumstances the artists have fallen inevitably into two classes. In the one class there have been the popular artists who painted pictures that flattered the spectator in one way or another and thereby extracted for themselves the money they required; and in the other we have had (*a*) original artists like Corot, Courbet, Manet, Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec, Cézanne, Seurat, Gauguin and Van Gogh, who had independent incomes or were kept by their relations, (*b*) original artists who were kept by one or two patrons and dealers, as Monet and Renoir were kept (and as Watteau had been kept at the beginning of the eighteenth century), and (*c*) original artists who also produced popular work for a livelihood—Ingres, for example, who drew pencil portraits, and Daumier who drew political and social cartoons for the newspapers.¹

The artist in the first position has an obvious social justification of the same kind as the music-hall performer or the popular novelist. The artist in the second must be regarded either as a spiritual benefactor of humanity, or a social parasite, according to our lights.

The artist who regards himself as following a vocation which can only be metaphysically justified is now a characteristic phenomenon in social life; and society may soon have to decide either (*a*) that it must take steps to propagate these gentlemen

¹ For the distinction between original and popular art cf. my *Modern Movement in Art*, *passim*. Very broadly the difference corresponds to the two types of production to which I refer here—trade objects produced to make money and products of the spirit. Popular artists who flatter the familiar experience of some type of spectator can, of course, always make a living if they know their business.

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and fanatics for its own spiritual benefit, or else (*b*) that it can get what it requires from the popular artists, the illustrated newspapers, and the cinema, and can dispense with the activity of the vocational artists altogether.

Whether society will decide one way or the other is obviously a matter of vital importance to the original artists of to-day and to-morrow, and it may prove to be a matter of vital importance to society itself.

To discover the metaphysical and social character of the pictures of the past, by discovering how far they have been products of the spirit and how far trade objects produced to make money, is, therefore, now not only a matter of importance for the student of art history, but also a matter of importance for every thinking man.

I believe that, at this juncture, the most useful way to study art history is to begin (*a*) by inquiring who painted each picture, when and why; and who, if any one, bought or commissioned it, and when or why; and then (*b*) to look at the picture and then (*c*) to go on looking at it.

In approaching this inquiry, I have therefore begun by an attempt to discover what the position of French artists was before the modern concept of the gentleman-or-fanatic-artist appeared; and the reader will find that I have been able to tell him in most cases how men like the French Primitives and the French seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artists contrived to spend all their days painting pictures (many of which were products of the spirit), and at the same time to be regarded as people who justified their existence from the social point of view.

vi. *Continuities in French Painting*

French art, as the illustrations in this book indicate, has manifested itself in many forms. But certain continuities run all through it. I have tried to demonstrate these continuities in my choice of illustrations.

The French have always shown the greatest hospitality to foreign artists. From the earliest times they welcomed Flemish and Italian painters and encouraged them to settle in their midst. But they have never worshipped strange gods; they

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have always induced the strange gods to come and worship at the feet of France, by the simple process of making France an exceptionally agreeable place to live in. In this way French art has been continually fertilised by original artists born in other lands ; and this process continues to this day.

French painting has been able by this means repeatedly to derive sustenance not only from the architectural genius of the Italians but even from the popular genre tendencies of the Low Countries ; and in the eighteenth century we find artists like Rigaud, Chardin, Nattier, Fragonard and others deriving tricks and inspiration from the art of Rembrandt.¹

We can trace the contribution of the Italian architectural genius from the First School of Avignon through Le Sueur, Claude and Poussin, Chardin, Louis David, Puvis de Chavannes, Cézanne and Seurat to the work of the modern Spaniard M. Pablo Picasso whom the French, in accordance with their traditions, have encouraged to make Paris his home.²

But the French artists have always applied the power and knowledge thus acquired to their own ends ; and they have drawn on these foreign elements for the pageant and decorative painting which their civilisation has repeatedly encouraged, and for that expression of intimate contact with root simplicities to which I have already referred.³

A special aspect of this engaging contact with root simplicities can be seen in French pictures with the Mother and Child *motif* from the time of the Primitives to the present day. Fragonard (Pl. 72b), Millet (Pl. 90) and Renoir (Pl. 106) all felt the same about a baby's feet.⁴

In the French pageant-pictures we observe a change of material after the French Revolution. Before that time the

¹ Cf. Plates 40, 56b, 58, 62b, 63, 71 and 72.

² Cf. Plates 5, 25, 35, 126a, 128b, 31b, 34, 35b, 36c, 62a, 71, 73, 77, 78, 79, 84b, 97b, 105, 108, 109b, 110, 111b, 124b, 131a, 131b, 132a, 132b, 133, 142a, 142b, and 143.

³ For the continuity of this most engaging aspect of French painting cf. Plates 2, 8, 23, 26, 27a, III, 59, V, 90, 103, 107, 113a, 115b, 129, 139. This quality in French painting also takes possession of the foreign artists in France such as Van Gogh and Picasso (cf. Plates 122, 123b, 140).

⁴ Cf. Plates 1, 5, 12a, 72b, 90, 106, 109a. Here, again, we find French influence on the foreign artists of the *École de Paris* (cf. Pl. 143).

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pageant-pictures were influenced by the ecclesiastical plays with three stages (cf. Pl. 12b), and later by court spectacles and theatrical and operatic performances—professional and amateur; after the Revolution the artists began to seek and find pageantry not only in the theatre but also in other places of public entertainment with their garish decorations and bright lights.¹

Drama, properly so called, has always also been a feature of French art; we can trace it from the Primitive Martyrdoms and Crucifixions (Pls. 3, 4 and 10a) and the great Avignon *Pietà* (Pl. 11), through Le Sueur's *Death of Saint Bruno* (Pl. 24) and Poussin's *Rape of the Sabines* (Pl. 34a) to the light comedy of Fragonard's *Le Baiser à la dérobée* (Pl. V) and *La Résistance Inutile* (Pl. 72a), the sordid drama of the underworld in modern cities as portrayed by Lautrec (Pls. 117 and 118a), the mystic drama of Redon (Pl. 141) and the architectural drama of M. Picasso (Pl. 142a).²

French painters up to the twentieth century have always produced characteristic portraiture. In our own day portrait painting makes no appeal to original French artists who as intelligent people surrender to the popular artists and to the camera that which the camera can do indisputably well. But from the Clouets to Rigaud and Largillière, from Watteau, Boucher, Nattier, La Tour and Perroneau to David and Prudhon, from Ingres to Degas, Lautrec, Cézanne and The Douanier Rousseau, there has hitherto been uninterrupted production in this field.³

Landscape-painting has been practised by French artists with ever-increasing enthusiasm from the landscape backgrounds in the early pictures (Pl. 7b) through the achievements of Claude and Poussin in the seventeenth century, of Watteau, Hubert Robert, Louis-Gabriel Moreau, and Claude-Joseph Vernet in the eighteenth, to those of Corot, the Impressionists, and the artists

¹ Cf. Plates 23a, 23b, 37a, 37b, 41b, 41c, III, 44a, 47, 51a, 56b, 64a, 66b, 114a, 67, 73, 77, 78, 83, 95, 101b, 104b, 114b, 115a, 116, 117, 135 and 136.

² For this continuity as illustrated here cf. Pls. 3, 4, 10, 11, 14, 24, 29, 34a, IV, 72a, 74, 80a, 80b, 83, 85, 86, 87, 96, 113b, 117, 118a, 119b, 141, 142a.

³ Cf. Plates 15a, 15b, 18, 40b, 39a, 40a, III, 44a, 44c, 45b, 66a, 65, 59b, 56, 57a, 57b, 57c, 57d, IV, 84a, 88a, 81, 82, 99, 112a, 130, 139.

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of the Cubist-Classical Renaissance (Pls. 111b, 134a, 134b, 125, 127, XI, 126a, 128b).¹

The Romantic movement of the nineteenth century was partly an Anglo-German creation, but the French painters about 1825 notoriously developed it in striking forms. The substitution of the Romantic search for unusual emotive fragments for the Classical search for formal harmony and order was definitely made by the French Romantic movement; and the French Romantic painters from 1825 to the present day exhibit an intensity in their emotive stresses and a courage in their emotive distortions that have never been approached or rivalled except by Michelangelo and Rembrandt.²

Lastly, we have the French as the painters of women. Here we can trace continuities and metamorphoses from the gravity of Fouquet (Pl. 5), Charenton (Pl. 6), and the Maître de Moulins (Pl. 8), through the Fontainebleau school, to a new gravity in Le Sueur (Pls. 23a, 23b and 25) and Louis Le Nain (Pl. 26); from the discreet flamboyance of the women portrayed by Largillière and Nattier to the daintiness of Watteau's *La Finette* (Pl. 44c) and the majesty of his second model (Pls. 42, 45b, 50); and from the modish *élégantes* of Boucher (Pls. 64a, 65, 66a) and the calm ladies of Chardin (Pl. 60a) to Fragonard's *petites femmes* (Pls. 70a and 70b, and 71)—who created the *petites femmes* of the *estampe galante* and *La Vie Parisienne*. At the eve of the Revolution we get a different concept in the lecherous "pretty girls" of Greuze,³ and the desirable lassies of Boilly (Pls. 74a and 74b). Louis David started a new tradition, Ingres another, Manet a third, Degas a fourth that culminated in Lautrec; and finally we get Renoir—perhaps the greatest painter of women who has ever lived.⁴

¹ For the full series illustrated cf. Pls. 7b, 12b, 28a, 21b, 31b, 33b, 34b, 35a, 35b, 36a, 36b, 43, 45, 47, 48, 53, 67, 73, VII, 87a, 87b, VIII, IX, X, 111b, 134a, 134b, 125, 127, XI, 126a, 126b, 128a, 128b. M. Matisse has also painted many landscapes.

² Cf. Plates 8, 13a, 78, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 90, 92, 93, 112a, 113a, 114b, 117, 118a, 118b, 119b, 121b, 139, 144. Here, too, we get Van Gogh and M. Picasso influenced (Pls. 122, 123b, 123b, 140).

³ No plates.

⁴ Pls. 104b, 105, 106, 110.

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vij. Difficulties of my Task

Most writers on art appear to suffer from a complex against facts and figures. They continually refer to pictures without telling us where they can be seen, and they rarely provide information about the time of their production. Even the compilers of art-dictionaries indulge in writing on art, instead of sticking to art-history, and generally give us more adjectives than dates.

I have felt it necessary to discover and record the present whereabouts of every picture I have mentioned, and wherever possible to give dates.

The lists of Characteristic Pictures and their whereabouts, which figure at the head of my notes on some of the outstanding artists, are not put forward as complete catalogues but as representing the minimum of works by the particular artists of which the student must have some knowledge before he can form a reasonable estimate of the range and character of that artist's work. I have seen the majority of the pictures which I have chronicled; of the others I have had photographs before me at the time of writing.

The compilation of these lists and the discovery of dates have been matters of great difficulty—chiefly by reason of the art-writers' complexes stigmatised above. But in certain cases I have been able to use recent catalogues compiled by art historians and in such cases I have referred to them in the text.

Another difficulty with which I have had to contend is the disgraceful condition of the pictures in the Louvre. A large proportion of the most interesting French pictures have passed in various ways, which I have indicated in the text, to the national collection. Most of the Louvre pictures are in need of cleaning and conditioning. Many are so covered with filth and discoloured varnish that it is quite impossible even to guess at their real appearance. The same applies to the condition of most of the pictures in French provincial museums. Wherever possible I have had, therefore, to supplement my studies in the French galleries by the study of examples in galleries and private collections where the pictures have been properly cleaned.

I make no claim to have discovered any new facts or pictures. I have, of course, availed myself of the labours of the many erudite

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French historians who have written works about the various periods. But I can, I think, claim that the information assembled does not exist in any recent book on the subject in English, and that the reader would have to wade through a number of large unindexed French volumes to collect it for himself.

I make, of course, no claim to have written a complete history of French painting, which would be quite impossible in a book of this size.

vii. *Acknowledgments*

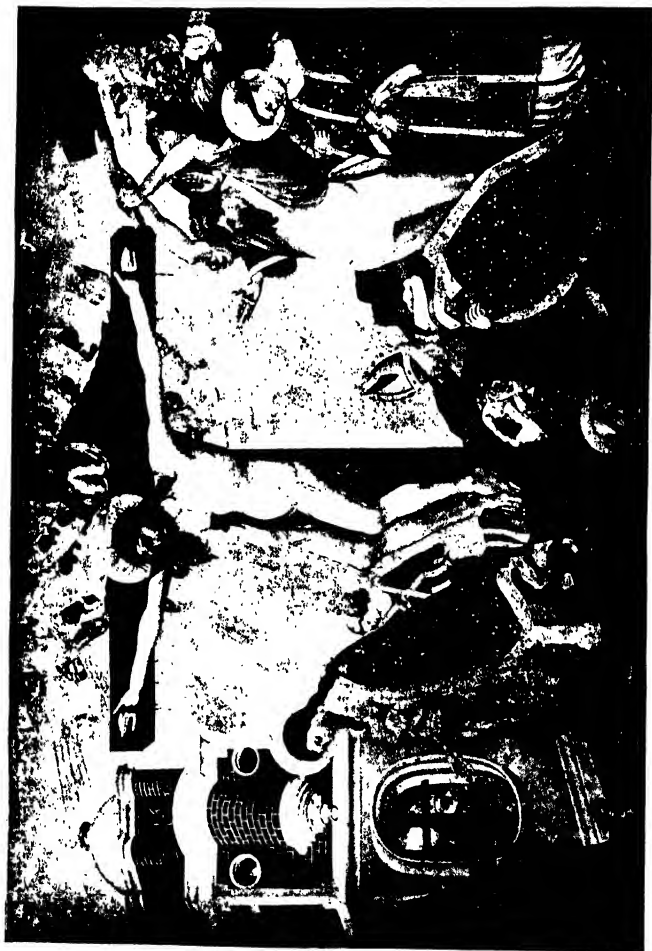
I am greatly indebted to the private collectors who have allowed me to reproduce their pictures. In particular I must thank on my own behalf and that of my readers M. David Weill, of Paris, Mr. Samuel Courtauld of London, and Mr. Adolph Lewisohn of New York, who all threw their doors open to me and gave me a general permission to reproduce as many pictures as I liked. As the reader will see I have availed myself freely of these generous permissions. I am also indebted to the brilliant art scholar M. Charles Terrasse, *Chargé de mission au Musée du Louvre*, who facilitated my recent studies in the Louvre; and to MM. Wildenstein et Cie, Paris and New York, M. Etienne Bignou and M. Paul Guillaume of Paris, Messrs. Reid and Lefevre of London, Messrs. Knoedler, London and New York, and the Directors of the Leicester Galleries, London, for expert assistance, photographs, and books. While I have acknowledged most of the photographs underneath the illustrations, I should like to thank also the Curators of the following Museums: Metropolitan Museum, New York; Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio; Art Institute of Chicago; Detroit Institute of Arts; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Worcester (Mass.) Art Museum; Minneapolis Institute of Arts; and for permission to reproduce, the following photographers: Messrs. Mansell, Giraudon, Alinari, Anderson, Hanfstäengl and Braun.

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Pietà. 1506.

JEAN MALOUFL. Prop.



Paris. Louvre

J. MALOUL and H. DI BELLECHOSE. Last Communion and Martyrdom of St. Denis.

PART ONE

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After Charles Le Brun

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THE FRENCH PRIMITIVES

A. FROM SAINT LOUIS TO AGINCOURT

i. *Painting in Feudal France*

The artist in the modern world refuses to be ranked among artisans or tradesmen; he claims the right to be regarded as a member of a liberal profession and sometimes to be following a vocation. He is nobody's servant and nobody is responsible for his existence.

No French artists attained or aspired to this position till the reign of Louis XIII.¹ In Feudal France there were at first artist-valets, artist-monks and artist-artisans; and when the first independent artists appeared they were artisan-tradesmen without pretension to any other rank.

The artist-valets were originally in the regular service of the King. They were attached to the Lord Chamberlain's department of the King's household. They bore the title of *peintre et valet de chambre du roi*; they were concerned with the King's comforts and pleasures, and they were expected to be architects, sculptors, decorators, painters of easel pictures, designers of tapestry, cabinet makers, book makers, pageant masters and so forth. When King Jean le Bon (1350-1364) was brought as a prisoner to England he was accompanied by an artist-valet, one Girard of Orleans, who had made him at various times a litter, a number of chairs, a tailor's dummy and a set of chessmen. When the royal establishments became larger and the number of artist-valets increased, their functions were divided, and the man considered suitable was selected for the post of *premier peintre du roi* with jurisdiction over all the decorative works in the Lord Chamberlain's department. This system remained in force with modifications till the Revolution.²

The artist-monks were in the regular service of the Church. They worked in monasteries where they wrote and illustrated

¹ Cf. pp. 7, 58, 83, 84.

² The system was imitated in the establishments of other members of the royal family and at the noblemen's Courts. From the thirteenth century to the Revolution Queens, Princes and nobles as well as Kings had artists attached to their establishments.

PAINTING IN FEUDAL FRANCE

ecclesiastical manuscripts. These manuscripts were used in the monasteries and they were also sold for ecclesiastical purposes ; sufficient survive to indicate that the style of the monks' illustrations was based on traditions which went back to the earliest Christian art at Byzantium. Illustrated manuscripts had been a powerful instrument in the propagation of the faith among illiterate populations in the early middle ages. It was thanks to the manuscripts that the Byzantine conceptions of the appearance and attributes of the sacred characters permeated to all Christian countries and were adopted everywhere by the Church for early mediæval sculpture and mosaics and for the painted windows of the great cathedrals. The formal character of this style is well known. It persisted in Russia right up to the recent Revolution. Its essence was the deliberate dehumanisation of sacred figures in order that they might appear impressive and aloof. The French artist-monks drew such figures in their manuscripts in the thirteenth century.

The artist-artisans were in the regular service of the builders of the Gothic cathedrals ; they had incessant occupation all through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ; they covered the porches with sculpture and filled the windows with painted glass. From the many examples of this glass painting which have fortunately survived we know that the painters were influenced by the illustrated manuscripts—though it must be noted that these glass paintings in turn influenced later generations of illustrators who found that the patterns of the leading in the windows gave them new ideas.

These superb cathedral windows are outside my subject. But I must note, in passing, that, though the glass painters in a cathedral such as Chartres were ordered by the Church to retain the former Byzantine style when representing sacred characters, they were given a relatively free hand in narrative scenes in which they recorded their fresh and direct observation of the life around them. I reproduce some thirteenth-century heads from the Chartres windows (Pl. 2). In our photograph-sodden age it is hard for the layman to appreciate this naïf calligraphic art, where every line is a record of a new realisation of life as expressed in form, and not a record of some momentary appearance of form in light. But its qualities have been fully realised by certain

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intelligent and widely cultivated artists of the modern French school. M. Matisse and the *Fauves* have made great efforts to recapture the vitality of these paintings by their countrymen who worked as simple artisans seven centuries ago ; and when we come to the latest aspects of French painting we shall find them, in appearance, most singularly like the first.

Independent artist-artisans were very exceptional figures in thirteenth-century France, and it would seem from the records that they were shopkeepers and tavern-keepers who illustrated manuscripts in their spare time and offered them for sale. But in the fourteenth century the independent painter becomes less exceptional, especially in Paris, which was now the seat of the monarchy, with a Court, a University and a considerable number of well-to-do citizens willing to buy not only ecclesiastical, but also secular manuscripts. A new class of independent book-making-artisans accordingly arose in response to this demand, and these men with secular customers to please soon found themselves abandoning the fixed traditions of the Byzantine style, though there was still a tendency to retain them when delineating the sacred figures. A pioneer among these new illustrators was one Jean Pucelle, who won so high a reputation that he was commissioned by Charles IV (1322-1328) to paint a Book of Hours for the Queen ; he also painted the celebrated *Bréviaire de Belleville* preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

At the same time we note the appearance in Paris of the first independent painters of easel pictures. But before considering their productions we must glance at the Papal Court at Avignon, an art centre from which the Parisian painting was derived.

ij. *The First School of Avignon*

The Papal Court at Avignon played a most important part in the development of French Gothic painting. The Papacy was established in Avignon in 1309 and remained till 1370 ; two Antipopes reigned there between 1378 and 1424. The Palace of the Popes was primarily a fortress, since the Papacy had migrated to France for security ; but within the fortress there was a palace, and this dual character is apparent to this day. The Avignon Popes, though not Italian, were in touch with Italian

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art. The structure of the Palace is Italian, not French, in style ; and Italian artists were summoned to decorate the walls. The Sienese master Simone Martini went to Avignon in 1339 and died there five years later. In the Audience Chamber and the Chapels of St. John the Baptist and St. Martial in the Palace we can still see frescoes, representing saints and sacred subjects, in the Sienese-Florentine fourteenth-century style. In the Garderobe Tower, moreover, we also see frescoes (now much repainted) representing outdoor scenes, hunting, bathing, fruit-gathering and so forth in a style resembling the "verdure" type of Gothic tapestry which inspired William Morris.

In addition to the frescoes in the Palace numerous easel pictures were produced at and round Avignon in this Papal period. These works of this first School of Avignon were fundamentally Italian in style, but they also show cosmopolitan elements. For the Papal Court itself was cosmopolitan ; Avignon lay on the main route to Italy ; there was continual passage through the city of French and Flemish artists to Italy, and of Italian artists to the North ; travellers, artists and dealers came and went bringing Italian pictures for royal and noble patrons in Flanders and France. In particular there was continuous contact with Milan where the Cathedral, begun in 1386, gave work to artists of many different nationalities.¹

As an example of the cosmopolitan style of this first School of Avignon, which was the foundation of the first School of Paris, I reproduce the charming *Virgin and Child with Saint and Donor* (Pl. 1), in the Museum of Worcester, Massachusetts. Here we have the gentle spirit and the formalism of Sienese art together with characters in the drapery that recall the early pictures of the School of Catalonia.²

¹ Between 1386 and 1401 many French artists of eminence were working there ; and a Parisian architect, Philippe Bonaventure, who went there in 1389, was in charge, apparently, of the whole operations for two years. The French architects and artisans were welcomed at Milan for the first fifteen years of the construction of the Cathedral. After that, presumably because they became so numerous that the Italians became jealous, the work was carried on exclusively by Italians. Traces of French—notably Burgundian—architecture, attributed to these migrations to Milan, are to be found in various Italian cathedrals and churches.

² Many of these are preserved in the Museum at Barcelona.



Paris, Louvre

JEAN FOUQUET, Charles VII.



Paris, Louvre

FRENCH SCHOOL, c. 1470. St. Louis and St. John the Baptist.
Detail of Plate 10a.



Autre - F. 106

MATRE DE MOULINS. The Virgin. Detail of The Nativity.

THE FIRST SCHOOL OF PARIS

iii. *The First School of Paris*

King Charles V (1364-1380) built the fortress castle of the Bastille and the fortress-palace known as the Old Louvre. His predecessor, Jean le Bon, already referred to, had ordered his artists to decorate the walls of his Château de Vaudreuil with religious subjects and hunting scenes; Charles V ordered his artists to paint similar frescoes in the Louvre and in the Queen's palace of St. Pol. The frescoes in the Queen's palace are said to have represented "a forest of trees covered with fruit, mingled with shrubs and flowers, among which birds and other animals disported and children ran eating fruit and picking flowers." From this description it is clear that this Parisian decorative style resembled the paintings in the Garderobe Tower at Avignon.

The first easel pictures produced by the independent artists in Paris date from the reign of Charles VI (1386-1422), who lives in history as Charles le Fou. In the early part of his reign there was a temporary cessation of the war with England, a brief period of peace before Henry V led his army to Agincourt in 1415. In this period Paris enjoyed prosperity. The royal and feudal courts were extravagant and willing to buy objects of luxury of all kinds, more indeed than could be supplied by the artists attached to their establishments. In these conditions the independent painters of easel pictures arose and prospered. By the end of the century they had become so notable they were recognised as a distinct class of trading artisans, and in 1391 they were granted a Charter on the basis of which they were subsequently organised as the Guild of St. Luke, known as the *Maitrise*.¹

From this time forward the Parisian artists all belong either to the class of royal or ducal domestics or to the class of independent artisans organised in their own trade association, which soon adopted the Guild system of apprenticeship terminating in the rank of Master. In Feudal France neither class was sufficiently

¹ The *Maitrise* was a corporation and the members had the dual status of artisan and merchant, the second being considered the more reputable as it carried with it certain civic rights—the exact opposite of the relative status of the artist and the dealer in later times. (Cf. pp. 83, 84, 122 and 175.)

THE FIRST SCHOOL OF BURGUNDY

numerous for any conflict to arise. The demand for art still greatly exceeded the supply. But later, under Louis XIII and Louis XIV, the mutual jealousy of the two classes created a third class consisting of members of the Royal Academy, which was founded in 1648.¹

The few easel pictures which survive from this first School of Paris are works of much interest and charm. The Louvre has a grisaille (monochrome) on silk and two paintings with gold backgrounds, by unnamed artists of this School. The grisaille—which is known as the *Parement de Narbonne* (because it was discovered and bought by the painter Boilly in Narbonne, before it reached the Louvre in 1852)—consists of a central panel of the Crucifixion, with Charles V and Queen Jeanne de Bourbon as donors, and six other panels with scenes from the Passion. The paintings on gold backgrounds are an *Entombment* and a circular *Pietà*. All three paintings, originally in elaborate settings, were intended for private apartments or chapels.

iv. *The First School of Burgundy*

In addition to Avignon and Paris there was a third important art centre in France between the accession of Charles VI and the English occupation of Paris after Agincourt. This was the city of Dijon, where Philippe le Hardi, Duc de Bourgogne, held his court. This Duke of Burgundy was Charles le Fou's uncle, and with his brother, Jean Duc de Berry, he was the King's guardian during his minority—for Charles was eleven years old when he succeeded. The two Dukes lived in great magnificence, giving entertainments where their courtiers wore the most fantastic costumes, embroidered with pearls, hung with gold chains and trimmed with furs. To support their extravagances they were rapacious in the vast areas which they administered,—Philippe in Burgundy and Flanders (he inherited Flanders in 1384) and Jean in the regions round Bourges and Poitiers, in the Auvergne and Languedoc. From the standpoint of the student of French painting both men were figures of outstanding importance; for both were enthusiastic patrons of the arts and both employed artists who were born in Flanders.

¹ Cf. pp. 82–88.



Aix-en-Provence, Cathedral.
NICOLAS FROMENT, Jeanne de Laval. Details of Plate 10b.



Aix-en-Provence, Cathedral.
NICOLAS FROMENT, King Rene of Anjou.



Fig. 10a

FRENCH SCHOOL, c. 1470. The Altarpiece of the Parliament of Paris.

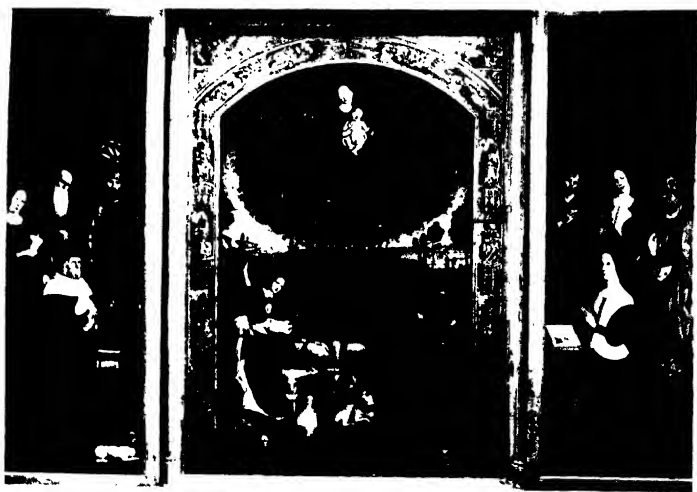


Fig. 10b

NICOLAS FROMENT, The Altarpiece of the Burning Bush.

THE FIRST SCHOOL OF BURGUNDY

The Duke of Burgundy, even before he became Count of Flanders, had Flemish artists at his court in Dijon. He had summoned one Jean de Beaumetz in 1375, and two years later one Melchior Broederlam, who painted two triptychs for the Chartreuse Monastery at Champmol, one of which is preserved in the Museum at Dijon. The next Flemish artist invited was Jean Malouel, painter of the *Pietà* (Pl. 3), in the Louvre. In this picture, despite the Flemish origin of the painter, we perceive an Italian rhythm in the spacing and Italian colour on a gold ground.

Philippe of Burgundy died in 1404 and was succeeded by Jean sans Peur, who summoned Henri de Bellechouse from Brabant. The picture called *The Last Communion and Martyrdom of St. Denis* (Pl. 4), in the Louvre, is believed to have been begun by Malouel and finished by Bellechouse. In this we see the Crucifixion in the centre; on the left St. Denis receives the Communion through the bars of his prison; on the right is the execution scene, where we see the saint three times:—first standing resigned to his fate, then kneeling at the block, and then with his head severed from his body on the ground. The picture has the same stylistic qualities as Malouel's *Pietà*; the colours are lovely on the gold ground, and even the swing of the executioner's axe makes a tranquil curve in the rhythmic lines of the composition. Malouel's *Pietà* (Pl. 3) and the Malouel and Bellechouse *Last Communion and Martyrdom of St. Denis* (Pl. 4) are the key pictures for the study of the first Burgundian School. All other pictures of this period described as Burgundian have been grouped round them.¹

v. *The Duc de Berry's Manuscripts*

I have referred to the misgovernment of his command by Jean Duke of Berry, the Duke of Burgundy's brother. This

¹ The Cleveland (Ohio) Museum has an interesting picture, *A Seated Bishop*, catalogued by the Museum authorities as "Southern French or Spanish (?) about 1425". Judging by an excellent photograph kindly supplied to me it must be grouped with the first School of Burgundy.

The Burgundian *Portrait of a Young Lady of Sixteen* in Philadelphia (J. G. Johnson Collection), is a little later, i.e. about 1450.

THE DUC DE BERRY'S MANUSCRIPTS

was so serious that Charles VI, when he took the reins into his own hands, made a ceremonial progress through Languedoc and burned the Duke's chief tax-collector to appease the public discontent. When the King succumbed to the madness which has earned him his title, the Duke of Berry became Governor of Paris and there again his exactions were so unmerciful that popular risings destroyed his châteaux of Nesle and Bicêtre. But the man lives in history as the most enthusiastic French art patron of his age. He built himself magnificent castles; he borrowed Beaumetz and other artists from the Duke of Burgundy; he covered his castles with sculpture; he collected tapestries and jewels. It was above all for manuscripts that he seems to have had a passion. No fewer than forty books adorned with miniatures are known to have been produced to his order. His Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale) was the work of Beauneveu and other artists; his *Grandes Heures* (Bibliothèque Nationale) of Jacquemart de Hesdin; and his name is immortalised in *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* now preserved in the Musée Condé at Chantilly.

In the superb Chantilly manuscript, the work of Paul, Jean and Armand of Limbourg, the artists painted a calendar which marks an early stage in the history of the genre picture as an *objet-de-luxe*. Here, for January, we see the Duke himself at dinner in a tapestried hall; he is burly and red-faced and is waited upon by servants in his livery. For February we see a snow-covered landscape and within doors a lady who dries her petticoat by the fire at which her male and female servants, destitute of underclothes, also warm themselves with their gowns pulled up above their knees; for March we see peasants ploughing and pruning their vines; for July harvesting; for September the vendange; and so forth. In the background of each picture one of the Duke's castles is exquisitely portrayed. The October picture which is particularly famous presents peasants sowing and, in the background, the old Louvre.

All the Duke of Berry's artists were of Flemish birth; they all worked also at architecture, sculpture and easel painting, though their miniatures alone can be ascribed to them with certainty; and they must all be assimilated to the Burgundian

THE DUC DE BERRY'S MANUSCRIPTS

School to which they contributed new aspects of development.¹

¹ In the Duke's Psalter, for example, Beauneveu drew saints and apostles which stand extremely close to figures in the easel pictures by Malouel and Bellechose, and closer still to those in the charming painting known as the *Wilton Diptych*, which many scholars regard as English work and which, it will be remembered, was acquired in 1929 from Lord Pembroke for the London National Gallery as an essential feature of Britain's artistic heritage for £90,000. Beauneveu's name has also been associated with the celebrated portrait of Richard II in Westminster Abbey.

B. FROM AGINCOURT TO FRANÇOIS I

i. *The Second School of Burgundy*

Between Agincourt and the English evacuation in 1453 conditions in France were not favourable to painting. Many nobles were killed in the war and more were ruined. The English occupied Paris from 1420 to 1436, and when Charles VI moved to Bourges the first School of Paris came to an end. The Court held at Bourges by Charles VII (who succeeded in 1422) was an impecunious makeshift affair in distressing times, when half France was occupied by the invaders and their ally, Phillipe le Bon, the new Duke of Burgundy. The Duke's fortune, however, was in striking contrast to that of the King. The Duke had inherited from his father and his grandfather, the patrons of Malouel and Bellechosc, their vast domains in Burgundy and Flanders. He increased them by the purchase of Luxembourg, and by various territorial concessions when he made terms with the King in 1435. At the height of his power he ruled over Burgundy, Luxembourg, Belgium and Holland. He was immensely rich; his Court at Bruges was luxurious; and he had admirable artists. While Jeanne d'Arc was being bullied in a trial that lasted five months, Jan Van Eyck, the Duke's chief painter, was working on the *Altarpiece of the Lamb*; and when the Duke died in 1467 the Flemish school had already been enriched by the whole production of Roger van der Weyden and most of the pictures by Dirck Bouts.

The reputations of the Van Eycks and of Roger van der Weyden soon spread to France where notabilities began to desire their pictures. Jan Van Eyck's *The Virgin with Chancellor Rolin* in the Louvre, was commissioned by Nicholas Rolin, Chancellor of Burgundy, and presented by him to the collegiate church of Notre Dame at Autun. This became a widely celebrated picture and it was imitated both by Flemish and by French artists. The altarpiece at Beaune, probably by Roger van der Weyden, was commissioned by the same chancellor, and this work also must have attracted much attention. The influence of Roger van der Weyden is clearly seen moreover in the fine work known as the *Altarpiece of the Parliament of Paris* (Pls. 7 and 10a), now in the

RENÉ OF ANJOU AND NICOLAS FROMENT

Louvre.¹ The Van Eyck tradition on the other hand is the foundation of the *Annunciation* by an unknown master in the Madeleine Church at Aix, and of the National Gallery pictures by Simon Marmion.² Flemish influence also permeated France in this period in the persons of the Flemish painters who frescoed Notre Dame de Dijon and those whom another eminent art patron of the period, King René of Anjou, invited to his courts at Angers and Aix-en-Provence.

ij. René of Anjou and Nicolas Froment

We know the appearance of *le bon roi* René at the age of sixty-six from the picture painted by Nicolas Froment (Pls. 9a and 10b). Though as unæsthetic to look upon as his uncle, the Duc of Berry, René was equally enthusiastic as an art patron and he wrote poetry and painted pictures himself.³

From 1442 to 1471 René held his Court at Angers; then he was dispossessed by Louis XI and during the remaining eleven years of his life he held his Court at Aix. At Angers his Court painters were imported from Flanders. At Aix, as Comte de Provence, he commissioned Froment (whose home was Uzès above Nîmes) to paint the *Altarpiece of the Burning Bush* (Pl. 10b) for the cathedral of Aix, which can still be seen there.

Apart from its subject, the *Altarpiece of the Burning Bush* is rather a dull picture. In the central panel we see the Virgin and Child in the Burning Bush appearing to Moses; a flock of sheep and goats and a large dog are in the foreground between Moses and an angel. René and his wife Jeanne de Laval (Pls. 9a and 9b)

¹ Cf. p. 16.

² The *Christ before Caiaphas* in Philadelphia (J. G. Johnson Collection) is ascribed to Simon Marmion's School.

³ The vicissitudes of René's career are typical of the period. He was the nephew of Charles V, the brother of Charles VII's Queen, the father of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI of England, and the son of Louis of Anjou, who had been crowned King of Naples by the Antipope Clement VII at Avignon. On paper he was King of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, Duke of Anjou, of Lorraine and Bar and Count of Provence. But his father had never been able to make good his claim to Naples, and René was not able to do so either or even to retain the Dukedom of Lorraine until he had suffered imprisonment at the hands of another claimant and paid him a large ransom.

THE SECOND SCHOOL OF AVIGNON

appear in the side panels as kneeling donors in the traditional attitude. René is accompanied by a small dog. The colours in this picture, which struck me when I last saw it as in need of cleaning, are lifeless ; and the hybrid nature of the style—which gives us a Flemish angel opposite a Venetian Moses—is curiously disconcerting. The convincing passages are the admirably incisive portraits.¹

iii. *The Second School of Avignon*

The composite nature of Froment's altarpiece is characteristic of all Provençal work of this period where a second and most interesting School of Avignon was now flourishing. The Papal Legates who now occupied the Palace of the Popes continued the traditions which had made Avignon a centre of art production. The Legates Cardinal de Foix and Cardinal della Rovere were notable art patrons ; and there are records of numerous commissions given by convents, monasteries, churches and rich citizens of the Avignon region. The second School of Avignon was in fact as influential as the first and it was quite as cosmopolitan.

Three splendid works survive from this second School of Avignon :—a *Pietà* and a *Christ standing in the Tomb*, both by unknown masters and both in the Louvre, and a *Coronation of the Virgin*, by Linguerrand Charenton in the Hospice of Villeneuve-les-Avignon.

The *Pietà* (Pls. 11 and 13b) is one of the world's most affecting pictures. It was in the Chartreuse of Villeneuve-les-Avignon till the Revolution. It has been disgracefully neglected and it is now in need of conditioning. But the artist's majestic design and his deep restrained passion are still tremendously moving. All the noblest elements in the cosmopolitan world of the Avignon School seem to have combined to produce this master-

¹ Hardly anything is known of Nicolas Froment. This altarpiece which was painted in 1475 and a *Resurrection of Lazarus* painted in 1461, and now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, are the only pictures which are ascribed to him with certainty. Some scholars give him the portraits of René and Jeanne de Laval in the Louvre and a *Saint Siffrein Bishop of Carpentras* in the Musée Calvet at Avignon. A triptych in Philadelphia (J. G. Johnson Collection) is ascribed to his school.

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piece. We have Italian rhythm, Flemish pathos, Spanish drama and French tenderness. And the disparity in style between the sacred group and the donor is not disconcerting because, whereas in Froment's *Burning Bush*, against all the traditions of Christian art, the angel is naturalistic-Gothic and Moses is formal-Italian in design, here the traditional relations are maintained—the sacred figures are hieratic and the donor is realistically portrayed.¹

The *Christ standing in the Tomb* (Pl. 13a) emanates from the Church of Boulbon (Bouches-du-Rhône). It has been even more neglected in the past than the *Pietà*, but it has now been restored. In this impressive and most curious work, Christ stands in the tomb; behind we see the instruments of the Passion, and, withered to the bone, the hand which received the thirty pieces of silver; in the foreground is the pillar of the flagellation; behind the kneeling donor is the figure of St. Agricola; behind the saint there is a coat of arms showing a stork—a reference to the legend of St. Agricola who obtained by prayer a flight of storks which destroyed a plague of snakes in the countryside.

In Charenton's attractive *Coronation of the Virgin* (Pls. 6 and 12b) the large flat design of the central group comes from Italy; but beneath we have a completely Gothic landscape and city with the Crucifixion, and lower still we see the blessed received by an angel and the damned suffering torture from devils in hell.

The *Coronation of the Virgin* is in fact a three-tier picture which can be assimilated to the church performances on three stages where the top stage represented heaven, the middle earth, and the lower the regions after death.²

¹ It has been suggested that the picture is the work of a Spanish artist working in Avignon; the Moorish city in the background is pointed to in support of this view.

² Cf. note p. 75. Charenton worked at Avignon from 1447 onwards. He also painted the *Virgin of Pity*, in the Musée Condé at Chantilly as a commission at Avignon in 1452. The *Coronation of the Virgin* was commissioned for the Chartreuse of Avignon in the same year.

CHARLES VII, LOUIS XI AND JEAN FOUQUET

iv. *Charles VII, Louis XI and Jean Fouquet*

I have referred above to the unhappy Court of Charles VII (the Charlie of Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan") at Bourges. We know little of the painters of this sovereign. We know however that Jean Fouquet painted his portrait (Pl. 7), which survives in the Louvre.¹

Jean Fouquet was also Court artist under the sly and sinister Louis XI (1461-1483). But of other painters at this Court we again know very little, though it is recorded of Colin d'Amiens, who was one of them, that he was commissioned to design a sepulchral effigy of the King in which the face was to be "*jeune et plein*" and the head, it was expressly stated, was not be shown as bald.

Apart from the productions of Jean Fouquet the outstanding surviving picture of this reign is the *Altarpiece of the Parliament of Paris* (Pl. 10a) already mentioned. In this picture, which was in the Chambre Dorée of the Parliament till the Revolution, I have noted the influence of Roger van der Weyden. The picture shows us the Crucifixion in the centre; on the left stand Saint Louis (with crown and sceptre and robe embroidered with fleur-du-lys), and Saint John the Baptist; Saint Denis and Charlemagne are on the right; a quaint dog is at the feet of Charlemagne; the background contains views of contemporary Paris (Pl. 7b). The choice of the figures of Saint Louis and Charlemagne for this particular work may have been, I submit, a symbolic reference to the accord between Louis XI and the Emperor Maximilian when the Dauphin was affianced to his daughter Margaret.²

We know nothing of the artist who painted the *Altarpiece of the Parliament of Paris*, but in Jean Fouquet, whose work dominates this reign, we meet for the first time an artist whose life and activities can be envisaged in some measure as a whole.

¹ Cf. p. 17 and Pl. 7a.

² A similar reference may reside in the National Gallery fragment, *The Meeting of Joachim and Anna*, ascribed to the Maître de Moulins (cf. pp. 20 and 21 and pls. 8 and 12a), where we see Charlemagne, who is obviously balanced by another figure—probably Saint Louis—in the lost half of the picture.



SECOND SCHOOL OF AVIGNON. *Pietà*.



Moulins, Cathedral

MAITRE DE MOULINS. Virgin and Child with Donors.
(Central panel of triptych).



Brussels, Church of St. Ursula

ENGUERRAND CHARLTON. Coronation of the Virgin.

JEAN FOUQUET

v. *Jean Fouquet*

BORN TOURS c. 1415 DIED TOURS c. 1481

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

Paris.	Louvre	Charles VII
Paris.	Louvre	Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins
Antwerp.	Museum	Virgin and Child
Berlin.	Kaiser Friedrich Museum	Etienne Chevalier and his patron, St. Etienne

CHARACTERISTIC MINIATURES

London.	British Museum	Page from <i>Le Livre d'Heures d'Etienne Chevalier</i>
London.	H. Yates Thompson Collection	Pages from <i>Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César</i>
Paris.	Louvre	Pages from <i>Le Livre d'Heures d'Etienne Chevalier</i>
Paris.	Louvre	Pages from <i>Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César</i>
Paris.	Bibliothèque Nationale	Page from <i>Le Livre d'Heures d'Etienne Chevalier</i>
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Forty pages from <i>Le Livre d'Heures d'Etienne Chevalier</i>

Jean Fouquet made his first reputation in his native town of Tours, and he was under thirty when he painted the remarkable portrait of Charles VII (Pl. 7a). The deep melancholy imprinted on the features in this portrait makes it an intensely interesting document. The physiognomy fits in with the character of this neurasthenic prince who was shaken from his lethargy by Jeanne d'Arc and later dominated by Agnes Sorel. In style the picture is tied to the Franco-Flemish miniature tradition; there is no hint in it of the trans-alpine Renaissance. But shortly after painting it Fouquet went to Italy and thereafter Italian influence is apparent in his work.¹

¹ In Italy Fouquet painted a portrait of Eugenius IV. This Pope, a Venetian, followed Pope Martin V, who was a member of the great and wealthy Roman house of Colonna. Eugenius claimed from the Colonna family their vast inheritance from Martin V as Papal property, and when they refused to surrender their wealth he joined with their rivals the Orsini,

JEAN FOUQUET

Fouquet returned from Italy about 1447 and again found employment at Charles VII's Court. He was looked on with favour by Agnes Sorel and by Etienne Chevalier, who had risen from the position of the King's secretary to that of Treasurer of the Realm. Probably before 1450, the year in which Agnes Sorel died, he painted a diptych for Etienne Chevalier which was originally at Loches. The right hand panel of this diptych, *The Virgin and Child* (Pl. 5), is now in Antwerp. It shows us Agnes Sorel as the Virgin, surrounded by scarlet angels on a blue ground. This superb work which harks back to the first School of Paris is hieratic in conception. It follows the old tradition which prescribed formal treatment for the sacred figures, and it is perhaps the last great mediæval picture painted in France.¹

The celebrated portrait, *Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins*, in the Louvre, was painted about 1465. The subject was Chancellor of France and a notability under both Charles VII and Louis XI. He is depicted with elaborate renaissance architecture in the background and the broad silhouetting of the composition is entirely Italian in character. No other existing paintings can be attributed with any certainty to Fouquet, though it is known that he painted pictures for Notre-Dame-La-Riche, at Tours.²

But though we have only four paintings by Fouquet we have a number of his illustrations to manuscripts. The series of miniatures known as "The Forty Fouquets" exhibited in the Musée Condé at Chantilly is from a *Livre d'Heures* painted by him for Etienne Chevalier; and he also painted books for Marie of Cleves, for the Duke of Nemours, and others.

and imprisoned various members of the Colonna family and seized their castles and belongings. The populace, urged on by the Colonna faction, rose in revolt and Eugenius had to fly from Rome by the Tiber where the ship that carried him was assailed with shot and stones. That was in 1433. By 1443 he was back in Rome; in 1447 he died; Fouquet's commission probably belongs to the Pope's last years.

¹ The left-hand panel of this diptych, which is now in Berlin, is much less interesting. It shows Etienne Chevalier on his knees with his patron, St. Etienne, standing behind him in a handsome Italian apartment. Both figures are painted as portraits.

² A *Calvary*, *Crucifixion* and *Deposition* in Notre Dame at Loches is ascribed to his school.



Paris, Louvre

SECOND SCHOOL OF AVIGNON. Christ standing in the Tomb.



Paris, Louvre

SECOND SCHOOL OF AVIGNON. Head of Christ. Detail of Plate 11.



Pietà. Rosso.

ROSSO. *Pietà.*

CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII

vi. *Charles VIII, Louis XII and the Maître de Moulins*

Darkness descends again in respect of the painters of the period of Charles VIII (1483-1498) and Louis XII (1498-1515). We have seen that Jean Fouquet came from Tours and that city would appear to have had a group of independent artists, probably working as a local Guild. In the last quarter of the century these Tours artists had a reputation as makers of illustrated manuscripts; their works represent the last important production in this art which, destroyed by the invention of the printing press, developed to the art of the wood-cut and the copper-plate engraving.

One Jean Bourdichon (1457-1521) passed from this School at Tours to the Royal service in the reign of Charles VIII, and he painted pictures for this sovereign and also for Louis XII. None of these paintings survives, but a triptych with *Scenes from the life of St. Anne* in Philadelphia (J. G. Johnson Collection), and a *Virgin and Child with angels* in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, are ascribed to his School and we have from his hand a very celebrated series of miniatures, the *Livre d'Heures* (Bibliothèque Nationale), which he painted for Anne de Bretagne, Charles VIII's Queen. Bourdichon is believed to have worked also for François I.

To this period we must also ascribe the exceedingly curious *Annunciation to the Virgin* in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University. Here we see Flemish influences that go back to the Van Eyck tradition combined with echoes of the early Venetian genre painters if not indeed of Carpaccio himself.

The most mysterious figure of the period is, however, one Jean Perreal, known also as Jean de Paris, who was a Court painter in both reigns and who, it is recorded, painted portraits, designed effigies and pageants and the decoration of pageants on royal tours. There are no surviving works by this artist and it has been suggested that he is identical with the artist known as the Maître de Moulins whom we must now consider.

THE MAÎTRE DE MOULINS

vij. *The Maître de Moullins*

BORN BEFORE 1480

DIED AFTER 1520

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURE

Moullins.	Cathedral	Triptych. The Virgin and Child in Glory with Pierre Duc de Bourbon, the Duchesse Anne de France and their daughter as donors
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ASCRIBED PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	Meeting of Joachim and Anna
Glasgow.	Art Gallery	Saint with Donor
Philadelphia.	J. G. Johnson Collection	Portrait of a Young Man
Paris.	Louvre	Woman as donor with St. Mary Mag- dalen
Autun.	Éveché	Nativity
Munich.	Alte Pinakothek	Charles II of Bourbon
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Charles II of Bourbon
Brussels.	Museum	Virgin and Child with angels

The Maître de Moullins is one of those mysterious figures in art history who is not a person but merely a name. He is the artist who painted the triptych, *Virgin and Child with Donors* (Pl. 12a), in the Cathedral at Moullins. That is really all we know about him.

The donors represented in this picture are Pierre Duc de Bourbon and his wife, Anne de France. It is therefore clear that the artist was commissioned to paint the altarpiece by the Bourbons, then immensely powerful, since the Duchess was Louis XI's remarkable daughter, who was Regent during the minority of her brother, Charles VIII, and earned for herself the title of "Madame la Grande."

The altarpiece is obviously the work of a very able artist, who must have been widely famous in his day both on the strength of his talents and by reason of his connection with the Bourbon Court. But there is no record of the commissioning of this Moullins picture.

On the other hand there are numerous records of an artist,

THE NEW ITALIAN TASTE

Jean Perreal, already mentioned, to whom no works can be ascribed. We have thus at one and the same period a picture of outstanding qualities but no artist, and an artist of wide celebrity but no pictures. Some scholars accordingly suggest, as noted, that Jean Perreal is the missing artist. But this is not yet established; and until proof is forthcoming the painter of the Moulins picture must remain the Maître de Moulins as before.

Various pictures are ascribed by scholars to this mysterious Maître de Moulins on the ground of their real or imagined resemblance to the Moulins picture. I have set down some of them above. But these ascriptions it must be remembered are purely conjectural. The Chantilly picture is probably a copy of the picture in Munich. Two pictures in the Louvre, wings of an altarpiece, showing the same Duc de Bourbon and the Duchess Anne, now catalogued as by the "Maître de 1488," can be approximated to the list above. I reproduce the figure of the Virgin from the *Nativity* (Pl. 8) at Autun, which is equally charming whether the ascription to the Maître de Moulins is justified or not.

viii. *The New Italian Taste*

Though we are thus in almost complete ignorance of French painting under Charles VIII and Louis XII, we have certain knowledge of the trend of aristocratic taste in painting. This was the period of the fantastic quarrels about the Kingdom of Naples and the beginning of the Italian wars. In these wars the Kings and notables of France came into contact with Italy in the full flush of the Renaissance; and this contact caused inevitably a revolution in artistic taste in France. When Charles VIII returned from Italy in 1495 he brought back Italian pictures from Naples, and he immediately attempted the foundation of an art centre at home. Louis XII in Milan endeavoured to induce Leonardo da Vinci to work for him, and in his reign various Italian artists were imported from Italy. Benedetto Ghirlandaio came to France and painted an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Church of Aigueperse in Auvergne; and other Italian artists painted frescoes in the Cathedral of Albi.

The most enthusiastic of the many French patrons of Italian art at this period was the Cardinal d'Amboise who owned a

THE NEW ITALIAN TASTE

Descent from the Cross, by Perugino and summoned Solario from Milan to paint frescoes in the chapel of his Château de Gaillon which he built in the new Italian style and made a centre for the new Italian taste.

François I, who is usually credited with the introduction of Renaissance art to France, did indeed consolidate and disseminate new standards. But at the time of his accession the new movement was in fact already launched.



Fig. 1a, b.

JEAN CLOUET, *Frances I.*



Mar. 15, 1564, 1565.

ANTOINE CARON, *Princess Sibylle of Cleve.*



Long box. Natchova, Italy.

BRONZINO, Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time.



Montpellier. Priv. de Collection.

SCHOOL OF FONTAINEBLEAU, Flora and Attendants.

PART TWO

FRENCH RENAISSANCE PAINTING

A. THE SCHOOL OF FONTAINEBLEAU

- i. *François I and the Palace of Fontainebleau*
- ij. *Later work at Fontainebleau*
- iiij. *The Fontainebleau style*

B. FRENCH RENAISSANCE PORTRAITS

- i. *The Portrait Albums*
- ij. *The Clonets and Corneille de Lyons*



London - Museum

SCHOOL OF FONTAINEBLEAU
Louise de Lorraine (?) as Venus.



Paris - Private Collection

JEAN COUSIN *pl.*, Artemisia.



Paris - Louvre

JEAN COUSIN *pl.*, Leda-Prima Pandora.



FIGURE 18

JEAN CLOUTIER, François II as Dauphin.

RENAISSANCE PAINTING IN FRANCE

A. THE SCHOOL OF FONTAINEBLEAU

i. *François I and the Palace of Fontainebleau*

François I was twenty when he ascended the throne. He was a fine figure of a man, physically courageous, attractive to women, and a lover of the arts. His taste from the outset was for the new Italian movement; and he already had several Italian artists in his service—including one Bartolomeo Guetti, who was later to paint nymphs and satyrs round the Tennis Court of the new Louvre. His reign opened with the victory of Marignano in which he personally played a valiant part. He returned to Paris in 1516 to a Court of men who lauded him as a hero and of women who were ready to fall into his arms. The monarchy, moreover, had been much strengthened towards the end of the preceding century. By one more turn of the wheel François became in fact as well as in name an absolute King with a plentiful supply of money. He set out to make the most of all aspects of the position and, *inter alia*, to indulge in his taste for art.

After Marignano François had visited Milan, Pavia and Bologna. At Bologna he had a four-day conference with Leo X—when their talk was doubtless more of Michelangelo and Raphael than history records. In Milan he continued the intercourse with Leonardo da Vinci begun by Louis XII. As all the world knows, Leonardo accepted his invitation to go to France and the King gave him an estate near Amboise where he lived till his death in 1519. Andrea del Sarto accepted a similar invitation from the King; he arrived in 1518, painted the *Charity* in the Louvre, and some other pictures, and returned to Italy. Then began the long struggle between François and the Emperor Charles. The defeat of Pavia was in 1525; François was for six months a captive in Madrid; when he returned to France he began to build the Palace of Fontainebleau which is so closely associated with his name.

In the first period François had lived partly at St. Germain-en-laye and partly at Blois, which he enlarged, and other places. In 1519 he had begun the building of the vast Château de

FRANÇOIS I AND THE PALACE OF FONTAINEBLEAU

Chambord, which in fact he rarely occupied. Later he embarked on rebuilding the Louvre, and began the structure which we know. On Fontainebleau, begun in 1528, he spent immense sums of money. He filled it with treasures and he made it a monument of his personal taste.

To decorate the interior François summoned further artists from Italy—Giambattista di Guasparre, known as Rosso, a young Florentine who had made his reputation with an individual style; and Francesco Primaticcio, a pupil of Giulio Romano in Bologna. Rosso arrived in 1531, Primaticcio two years later. Both artists were accompanied by Italian assistants; they were joined possibly by the Italian artists who had come to France with Leonardo and Andrea del Sarto; and they also employed French artists as assistants.

Hardly anything now remains of the actual paintings done at Fontainebleau by these artists. But we can still see the general schemes of the painted panels and the stucco ornaments surrounding them. Rosso was responsible for the Gallery of François I. This had panels of mythological subjects which were repainted by Couder under Louis Philippe and again later by one Brisset. Primaticcio finished Rosso's Gallery, collaborated with him in various other work in the Palace and was himself responsible for the Chamber of the Duchesse d'Etampes, the King's mistress, of whom Benvenuto Cellini has said some hard words in his account of his sojourn at the French King's Court. The Chamber of the Duchess, which can still be seen to-day, was decorated with painted panels supported by stucco female nudes of great elegance. The panels, depicting the story of Campaspe and Alexander, with allegorical allusions to the relations of the King and the Duchess in the taste of the time, were all repainted by Abel de Pujol under Louis Philippe.

Primaticcio also designed the King's Bathing Hall which was decorated with paintings of the story of Calisto; and he was in charge of the ante-chamber to this bathroom where, curiously enough, the King kept favourite pictures from his collection which included the *Virgin of the Rocks*¹ and other pictures by Leonardo, the *Charity*,¹ by Andrea del Sarto, Raphael's *La Belle Jardinière*¹ and *Jeanne d'Aragon*,¹ Michelangelo's

¹ Now in the Louvre.

LATER WORK AT FONTAINEBLEAU

Leda,¹ a *Magdalen*,² by Titian, and Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time*³ (Pl. 16b). Primaticcio also fitted up and decorated a fantastic grotto in the gardens where, it has been said, the ladies of the Court were wont to bathe and where by an ingenious arrangement of mirrors the King could observe them.

ij *Later work at Fontainebleau*

Rosso committed suicide in 1541. François I died in 1547. But the work continued. Under Henri II (1547-1559) Primaticcio painted the Ball Room (known as the Gallery of Henri II) and the Ulysses Gallery which had been commenced in the previous reign. He was now joined by Niccolo del Abbate from Italy and with his aid he painted, in the Ball Room, a series of compositions symbolising the Seasons (which were repainted by Toussaint Dubreuil in the time of Henri IV and again in the nineteenth century by Alaux), and, in the Ulysses Gallery (now demolished), fifty-eight pictures of the story of Ulysses on the walls and ninety-eight panels of mythological subjects on the ceiling.

Under François II (1559-1560) and Charles IX (1560-1574) various other decorations were carried out at Fontainebleau by Italian and French followers of Primaticcio, who died in 1570, and of Niccolo del Abbate, who died in 1571. The troubled period that followed the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572) naturally caused a decline in artistic patronage and production. Henri III (1574-1589), however, patronised one Antoine Caron, who designed decorative compositions, fêtes and pageants and painted portraits (Pl. 15b).

Henri IV (1589-1610), who added to the Louvre, also put in hand extensions and new decorations at Fontainebleau where he observed the traditions by ordering elaborate decorations of the apartments allotted to his mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées. These new decorations depicting scenes from the story of Hercules were the work of Toussaint Dubreuil (1562?-1602). In the same apartment Ambroise Dubois (1543-1614) painted Gabrielle

¹ Copy ascribed to Rosso now in the London National Gallery.

² Now in the Bordeaux Museum.

³ Now in the London National Gallery.

THE FONTAINEBLEAU STYLE

d'Estrées as Diana with hounds and cupids. None of these paintings now exists. Later the King ordered for Marie de Medici a set of decorations for the famous Gallery of Diana ; these paintings, which were destroyed under the Empire, were the work of Ambroise Dubois who also painted the Salon of Louis XIII (who was born there in 1601), and a series of pictures in the apartment known as the Clorinda Chamber. The pictures in the Salon of Louis XIII represented the story of Theagenes and Chariclea, some of which, repainted, can still be seen there. One of the Clorinda series, *The Baptism of Clorinda by Tancred* (Pl. 20b), is preserved in the Louvre.

iii. *The Fontainebleau Style*

The School of Fontainebleau thus lasted for some ninety years. It represents French decorative and pictorial art between the beginning of the age of François I and the beginning of the age of Richelieu and Mazarin. It begins with Rosso, who came from Italy, and ends with Ambroise Dubois, who was born at Antwerp. Fontainebleau was regarded as one of the marvels of the age. It was the Sistine Chapel, the Doges' Palace of France, till its reputation was eclipsed by the Louvre and Versailles.

This School cannot be understood or judged by the repainted remains now on the walls at Fontainebleau. We have to try to understand it by considering (a) the paintings produced by Rosso before he left Italy and by his *Pietà* (Pl. 14) in the Louvre ; (b) the drawings by Primaticcio in the Louvre, at Chantilly and elsewhere, one or two paintings ascribed to him, and the pictures by the Italian artists on whom he based his style—Parmigiano, Pontormo and Bronzino ; (c) the few easel pictures by Niccolo del Abbate and unnamed Italian and French artists of the School which survive in various museums.

Rosso was an eclectic artist and temperamentally a realist. He was influenced by Michelangelo, Pontormo and Bronzino. In his *Pietà* (Pl. 14), in the Louvre, we have obvious echoes of Michelangelo's style in the massive limbs, but the open mouth of Christ reveals detailed rendering of tongue and teeth, and the teeth too are delineated in the mouth of the Virgin which is set in a face founded on some Greek marble head. In his *Pietà* at

THE FONTAINEBLEAU STYLE

Borgo san Sepulcro we meet again the stylistic distortions of Michelangelo, and in the background a hideous noseless, bat-faced figure, which is among the most nightmarish creations in art.¹

I suspect, indeed, that Rosso had a streak of madness. Various episodes in his life encourage this suspicion. He was always quarrelsome as we learn from Benvenuto Cellini who knew him in his Italian days; his departure for France was largely motivated by a quarrel with a priest in Borgo; and his suicide followed a quarrel with one of his friends in France. Perhaps physical causes contributed to this condition. When Rome was sacked in 1527 he was captured and ill-treated by the Germans, and later a roof fell in upon his head and he suffered fever and concussion. He was an immensely interesting artist; but he never arrived at a symbolic unity in pictorial expression and he thus lacked the first essential of pictorial style.

The essence of the Fontainebleau style can, however, be found in Primaticcio, who absorbed the stylistic conceptions of Parmigiano, Pontormo and Pontormo's pupil, Bronzino. From these sources Primaticcio evolved the type of female figure which we regard as characteristic of this School. The figures in his drawings have small heads and narrow shoulders; and the long torsos widen into majesty at the hips from which elegant lines flow down over full thighs and neat knees to shapely calves and slim ankles.²

The artists of the School of Fontainebleau soon lost the fundamental stylistic qualities presented to French art by

¹ We find the same mixed qualities in Rosso's pictures preserved in Italy—the *Transfiguration* at Citta di Castello, and his *Betrothal of the Virgin* in the St. Lorenzo basilica in Florence. His *Moses and the daughters of Jethro* (Florence Uffizi) is an astonishing mixture of Michelangelo's stylistic distortions and of personal realistic observation. The central figure in this remarkable work is a portrait of an individual young girl with an exquisite face and figure; the little sensual mouth of this model is open, her breasts are firm and full; only her eyes are treated in a way that suggests that the painter had been studying Greek sculpture.

² François himself was a great admirer of the Italian masters on whose works Primaticcio's art was based; we know from Vasari that he was anxious to possess some pictures by Pontormo; and he owned Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time* (Pl. 16b). We may assume that the conception of beauty in the female figure which we associate with this School made a special appeal to his taste.

THE FONTAINEBLEAU STYLE

Primaticcio. There is still a measure of the School's real style in Niccolo del Abbate's *Continence of Scipio* and in the *Eva Prima Pandora* (Pl. 17c) by Jean Cousin père (c. 1490-c. 1561) which are both in the Louvre. There is charm too in the Rouen *Venus* (Pl. 17a) which has been ascribed to Primaticcio himself, but which is more probably a School picture representing Henri III's Queen, Louise de Lorraine. Some French artist who had not forgotten the lesson of Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time*, painted the attractive *Flora with Attendants* (Pl. 16a), now in a private collection in Montpellier. But if we compare the Montpellier picture with Bronzino's we see that the lesson is but dimly remembered after all.

The middle style of the School can be seen in allegorical figures called *Justice and Peace* in the Musée Dobrée at Nantes, in the pretty *Artemisia* (Pl. 17b) in a Parisian collection, ascribed to Jean Cousin fils (c. 1522-c. 1592), in the celebrated *Diana* (Pl. 19b) in the Louvre, and the still more celebrated *Gabrielle d'Estrées in her bath* (Pl. 19a), at Chantilly.¹

¹ The *Gabrielle d'Estrées in her bath* dates from the fifteen-nineties. Gabrielle, whom Marguerite, Henri IV's first Queen, always referred to as *cette bagasse*, is here seen in a baignoir which is half covered with a tablet bearing fruits and flowers. Her little son from the King—César, Duc de Vendôme, aged about three—is stretching out his hand to reach a fruit; her second son, Alexandre de Vendôme, is at his nurse's breast. Behind we see the interior of a kitchen with a serving-woman and a half-opened window. Commentators on this picture have not, I think, observed that this kitchen scene is reflected in a mirror on the wall behind the nurse, and another mirror—in days when mirrors were still luxuries imported from Venice—appears on the wall beside the fire.

For the use of mirrors in pictures by Le Brun and Velasquez cf. p. 80. For their use by the Dutch painters of the seventeenth century cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, Part VI, Section iii.

Another version of this picture, possibly the original, is in the collection of Sir Herbert Cook in Richmond; there is a third in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, and I know part of a fourth (containing only the left-hand portion) in the collection of Mr. Oliver Brown in London.

The identity of the bather in this picture has been disputed. Diane de Poitiers and Marie Touchet have been suggested. The picture has been attributed to Primaticcio, to François Clouet (cf. p. 34) and to Antoine Caron (cf. Pl. 15b). It has been recently suggested that the Richmond picture is an original by François Clouet representing Diane de Poitiers and that the Chantilly picture is a copy where the head of Gabrielle d'Estrées has been substituted.

THE FONTAINEBLEAU STYLE

The last development of the School is seen in the *Baptism of Clorinda* (Pl. 20b), by Antoine Dubois, one of the numerous Flemish artists who were attracted to Fontainebleau. In this picture we meet the Italianising Flemish style of the late sixteenth century. The materials that go to the making of this *Baptism of Clorinda* strike us as so ridiculous in themselves that we cannot imagine a tolerable picture resulting from their exploitation. But the same materials were being used in Spain at almost the same moment by El Greco, in his *Martyrdom of St. Maurice* (Pl. 20a), in the Escorial.

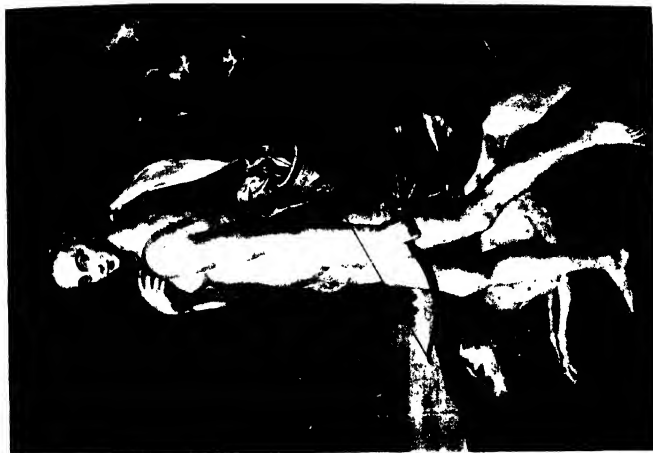
B. FRENCH RENAISSANCE PORTRAITS

i. *The Portrait Albums*

While French decorative art was thus acquiring and forgetting an Italian style the members of the Kings' Courts were patronising local talent in the field of portraiture. At the beginning of the reign of François I it became the fashion to summon an artist to the house and to sit to him for a crayon drawing from which if required an oil painting was subsequently painted in the artist's studio. Replicas were sometimes made both of the drawings and the paintings; and the drawings were put into albums, as people put photographs into albums in the nineteenth century.

Hundreds of these sixteenth-century French drawings have survived. There are many in the Musée Condé at Chantilly and others at Versailles, in the Louvre, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Museum, and elsewhere. Thanks to these drawings we know the features of all the outstanding members of the Courts of François I and his immediate successors. One celebrated album in the Museum of Aix-en-Provence belonged to Mme de Boisy, wife of Gouffier de Boisy, Grand Master of France, who had fought by the King's side at Marignano. In this album the portraits of the notabilities bear comments believed to have been written at the dictation of the King himself. The commentator is especially outspoken about the ladies. On the drawing of Diane de Poitiers, who was later to be Henri II's mistress, we read: "Fair to see and virtuous to know," on that of Madame de Chateaubrian, "Better figured than painted"; another lady is described as "honest, fat and pleasant at times"; yet another is praised for her peerless figure.

The character of all these drawings and paintings, apart from variations in skill, is much the same. The style remained unchanged throughout the reigns of François I, Henri II, François II and Charles IX. The artists were quite uninfluenced by the prevailing styles in decorative art. They were concerned with recording the features of their sitters. Their work is usually less drastically categoric than the similar portraits by Holbein, and the most attractive of the French drawings are warmer and more sympathetically observed.



Liane
SCHOOL OF FONTAINEBLEAU. Duca.



Gabrielle d'Estrees in her bath
SCHOOL OF FONTAINEBLEAU.



Paris, Louvre

AMBROIS DUBOIS. The Baptism of Chlorinda.



Madrid

EL GRECO. The Martyrdom of St. Maurice.

THE CLOUETS AND CORNEILLE DE LYONS

ij. *The Clouets and Corneille de Lyons*

The ascription of these drawings and the pictures painted from them to the individual artists of the period has been the subject of much labour by scholars, notably M. Moreau Nélaton, M. Bouchot and M. Louis Dimier. As a result it seems now possible to assign a first group to one Jean Clouet, who was of Flemish birth and was attached to the establishment of François I from approximately 1516 till 1540. A second group is assigned to his son, François Clouet, who succeeded to his father's position and held it under Henri II and Charles IX. Other groups go to artists known as Jean Decourt, Etienne and Pierre Dumoustier, François Quesnel, and to artists given reference names such as L'Anonyme Lecurieux and Le peintre de Luxembourg-Martiques. There is also the able painter known as Corneille de Lyons, born at The Hague, who painted Catherine de Medicis, Henri II's Queen, and all the notabilities of her Court.

The following paintings may be said to be characteristic of Jean Clouet¹ (1486?–1540):—

Hampton Court.		Portrait of a Man with a volume of Petrarch
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait of François I (No. 126)
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait of François I (No. 127)
Antwerp.	Museum	The Dauphin François, son of François I
Florence.	Uffizi	Claude, Duc de Guise

The portrait of François I (Pl. 15a) is of all the portraits of the King the one which convinces me most as likely to have been a faithful likeness. It was painted presumably from a drawing at Chantilly where the curious character of the face is still more incisively portrayed.² The Hampton Court picture is extremely expressive and the portrait of the Dauphin (Pl. 18), showing the sitter at the age of two or three, is a most engaging picture.

¹ Two portraits in the New York Metropolitan Museum (Havemeyer Collection) are catalogued as by Jean Clouet or Corneille de Lyons.

² At Chantilly there is also a very attractive painting of François as Duc d'Angoulême in his youth. The painter is unknown.

THE CLOUETS AND CORNEILLE DE LYONS

The following are characteristic paintings by François Clouet (1510-1572):—

Philadelphia.	(J. G. Johnson Collection)	Portrait of a Gentleman
Paris.	Louvre	Elizabeth of Austria, Queen of France
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait. Pierre Quthé
Paris.	Louvre	Henri II
Paris.	Louvre	Charles IX

The portrait of Elizabeth of Austria (Pl. 1) is one of the most charming of the whole school. It represents Charles IX's Queen in the year of her coronation, 1571, when she was seventeen years old. Brantôme wrote of her: "She was a very beautiful Princess with a fine and delicate complexion . . . she had a very beautiful figure though she was not tall. She was very good and virtuous and kind-hearted, she did harm to no one and never spoke a word that might have offended; she was very quiet, spoke little and always in her native Spanish." She was the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II, and when Charles IX died she returned to Vienna; there she founded a convent, where she died at the age of thirty-eight.¹

The following are characteristic pictures by Corneille de Lyons (c. 1510-1574):—

London.	National Gallery	Antoine de Bourbon
Philadelphia.	(J. G. Johnson Collection)	Portrait of a Nobleman
Paris.	Louvre	Jacques Bertraut
Paris.	Louvre	Charles de Cossé, Comte de Brissac
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Gabrielle de Rochechouart
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	The Dauphin François
Modena.	Museum	Man in Armour

¹ The ascription of this picture to François Clouet is now called in question by some scholars. In the Louvre catalogue it is now described as "French School of the XVIth century."



FIGURE 1. *Lithograph Gallery*
NICOLAS POUSSIN, *The Flight into Egypt*



FIGURE 2. *Museo*
SIMON VOUET, *The Rest on the Flight*



Paris, Louvre

SIMON VOUET, *Wealth*.



Paris, Louvre

NICOLAS POUSSIN, *Inspiration of the Poet (Detail)*.

PART THREE

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A. THE AGE OF THE CARDINALS

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B. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

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THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A. THE AGE OF THE CARDINALS

i. *The Transformation of Paris*

The seventeenth century falls naturally into two periods. The first, the Age of the Cardinals, extending from 1610 to 1661, covers the reign of Louis XIII and the minority of Louis XIV. It is the period of the successive dominations of Richelieu while Marie de Medicis was Regent during the minority of Louis XIII, and of Mazarin while Anne of Austria was Regent during the minority of Louis XIV. The second period, the Age of Louis XIV, extends from the King's assumption of personal government in 1661 to his death in 1715.¹

Paris in the first half of the century completely changed its appearance. New buildings appeared on every hand and new quarters were laid out. Marie de Medicis built the new Luxembourg Palace; Richelieu built the Palais Cardinal (which has been known as Palais Royal since he bequeathed it to Louis XIII); and the King himself conceived the project of quadrupling the original proportions of the Louvre and built the Clock Pavilion in 1624.²

La Place Dauphine and La Place des Vosges date from this period; and the rich nobles and bourgeoisie began to build magnificent mansions, known as *hôtels*, in the region of the Luxembourg Palace, round St. Germain-des-Près and in the St. Antoine, the Marais, and Ile-St.-Louis quarters.

There was also much ecclesiastical building. Under Richelieu and Mazarin there was a spectacular religious revival, accompanied by a measure of real piety; the old religious Orders flourished and new Orders were founded; and ample money was forthcoming for building monasteries, convents, and churches in the new style of architecture which the Jesuits had introduced from Rome.³

¹ Richelieu died in 1642, Marie de Medicis in the same year, Louis XIII the year after, Mazarin in 1661, Anne of Austria in 1666.

² Catherine de Medicis had built the Little Gallery of the Louvre and the Long Gallery connecting the Louvre and the Tuileries. Henri IV added second stories to both structures. (Cf. note p. 77.)

³ The churches of the Sorbonne and the Invalides, Saint Sulpice, Saint

THE TRANSFORMATION OF PARIS

All this ecclesiastical and secular building created a great demand for artists to adorn the interiors with decorations and pictures; and a new school of French painting arose in response. Though Marie de Medicis summoned Rubens to the Luxembourg in 1625 to paint the superb set of pictures now in the Louvre, and tried in vain to tempt Guido Reni to come to Paris for other work, it was to French painters and sculptors that the majority of the countless commissions were now given.

Parisian taste in this period demanded a certain pomposity and pretension from the decorators. Though the artists patronised were French they were expected to produce pictures that

Gervais, Saint Eustache, Saint Etienne-du-Mont, Saint Paul and the Val-de-Grâce (cf. note p. 55, and pp. 89 and 90) date from this period.

The religious attitudes of the time were very various. It was the age of François de Sales and Vincent de Paul. It was also an age when there were still armed conflicts between official Catholics and the Huguenots, and considerable persecution of free thought. The century which opened with the burning of Giordano Bruno in Rome (1600) continued with the burning of Vanini at Toulouse (1619) and of Fontanier in Paris (1621). There was much superstition and brutality. Vanini's tongue was torn out in presence of the populace and his atheism was said to have been demonstrated because at the pain he emitted a cry like an ox being killed. When Louis XIII and de Luynes wanted to follow the assassination of Concini by the removal of his wife, the confidante of the Queen Mother, they had her burned as a sorceress (1617); she was tried before Parliament, which was satisfied of her dealings in Black Magic and her frequentation of "Anabaptists, Jews, magicians and poisoners," when it was proved that in an attempt to cure herself of chronic neuralgia she had followed the advice of a Jewish doctor and applied chickens and pigeons to her head—though she had taken the precaution to have the birds first blessed by a priest. There were no executions for free thought under Richelieu. The freethinkers (*libertins* as they were called in French) realised that all the Cardinal really asked of them was discretion and decent conduct and the recognition of the temporal authority of the Catholic Church. The Curé of St. Pierre de Loudun, who was burned alive by Richelieu (1634), was indeed described as one who had sold himself to the devil, but he was really executed for offences against nuns. Others executed under Richelieu as *libertins* were also guilty of sexual crimes. Richelieu, whose personal religious attitude has puzzled all his biographers, was superstitious. He had the relics of St. Fiacre brought to him from Meaux as he believed they would cure his hemorrhoids. Under Mazarin one Claude Petit was hung and burned for the publication of "chansons impies"; and M. d'Ambreville was burned alive for unorthodox opinions.



Pos. 1. 1900
JUSTACHE LI SULUR, Mapomayo. (L. 1900) Polymnia.



Pos. 1. 1900
JUSTACHE LI SULUR, Chy, Encepe and Thalia.



Opp. 100

EUSTACHE LE Surr — The Death of St. Brano.

SIMON VOUET

recalled Italian painting of some kind. Preference was given to those who had spent some years in Italy and knew how to invest their compositions with some characteristic of contemporary Italian painting or some echo of the Italian Renaissance masters. The taste of the time was willing to accept the flattery of the Italian Baroque style, familiarised by the work of Rubens, and the more sober compositions of the so-called Eclectic Italian School which was based on the teachings of the Caracci; and it also favoured echoes of the Raphaelesque tradition. All the artists who worked in the new *bôtels* and churches complied with these conditions in varying degrees. The most famous and the most sought after were Simon Vouet and Eustache Le Sueur.¹

ij. *Simon Vouet*

BORN PARIS 1590. DIED PARIS 1649

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

Paris.	Louvre	Louis XIII, with allegorical figures of France and Navarre
Paris.	Louvre	The Presentation of Jesus in the Temple
Paris.	Louvre	Wealth, Faith, Victory, Eloquence (four pictures)
Paris.	Saint Merry	St. Merry delivering the prisoners
Paris.	Saint Nicolas des champs	The Assumption
Epinal.	Museum	The Entombment
Dijon.	Museum	Presentation of the Virgin
Grenoble.	Museum	The Rest on the Flight
Grenoble.	Museum	Temptation of St. Anthony
Besançon.	Museum	Death of the Magdalen
Lyons.	Museum	Christ on the Cross
Nantes.	Museum	Apotheosis of St. Eustache

¹ Among the other painters thus employed we must note François Perrier (1590-1656) who painted decorations for the Hôtel Lambert, and for the Hôtel de la Vrillière which is now the Banque de France; Laurent de la Hyre (1606-1656) and Jacques Stella (1596-1657) who worked especially for churches and religious Orders; Charles Errard (1601-1689) who decorated numerous hôtels, worked in the Louvre and the Luxembourg Palaces, painted the scenery for Mazarin's production of "Orfeo", and was eventually Director of the French Academy of Art in Rome; and Louis

SIMON VOUET

Simon Vouet, son of a decorative painter attached to the service of Henri IV, showed precocious talent for drawing and painting. If we are to credit Walpole he was already known as a portrait painter by the time he was fourteen. At the age of twenty-one he accompanied some ambassador to Constantinople, where he is said to have had an audience with the Sultan and to have painted a successful portrait of him from memory. In 1612 we find him in Venice, in 1613 in Rome. He remained in Italy for thirteen years. He decorated the splendid Doria Palace, in Genoa, and a chapel in the Vatican. His reputation in Italy eventually became so great that he was made a director, or Prince as the office was called, of the Roman artists' Academy of St. Luke. In 1627 he received a royal command to return to France and Louis XIII made him *Premier peintre du roi* with a handsome salary and apartments in the Louvre.¹

Vouet painted the King's portrait, gave him lessons in pastel drawing, and executed to his order some decorations in the Louvre. From Marie de Medicis he received decorative commissions for the Luxembourg, and he was also called on for numerous decorations for *hôtels*, and for altar-pieces in the new churches. He had an army of assistants and of apprentice pupils. At one moment Le Sueur, Mignard² and Le Brun³ were all working in his atelier. His output was tremendous and his position was unchallenged for many years.

Vouet's ecclesiastical style can be well seen in the *Rest on the Light* (Pl. 21A), in the Museum of Grenoble, and in the Louvre *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple*, which he painted for the Church of the Jesuits in Paris to the order of Richelieu. His decorative

Testelin (1616?–1695) who decorated the bathroom of Anne of Austria, and was eventually to formulate a Code of Art for the Academy (cf. p. 87). Some of these artists belonged to the *Maîtrise* and some were *peintres du roi* (cf. p. 84).

¹ The ground floor, entresol and first floor of the Long Gallery of the Louvre had been fitted up as lodgings for the artists in the Royal service by Henri IV, who installed there not only a number of painters and sculptors, but also an engraver of precious stones, an upholsterer, and one Bourgeois, described as *ouvrier en globes mouvants et en constructions mécaniques*. Artists and some craftsmen continued to have lodgings in the Louvre till 1806.

² Cf. pp. 88–91.

³ Cf. pp. 78–82.



Paris. Louvre

EUSTACHE LE SUEUR. The Mass of St. Martin of Tours.



Portrait of a Nun.

LOUIS LE NAIN. *Portrait of a Nun.*

EUSTACHE LE SUEUR

style can be seen in the allegorical figures of *Wealth* (Pl. 22b), *Faith*, *Victory* and *Eloquence*, now in the Louvre.¹

His reputation suffered a set-back when Poussin visited Paris in 1640.² The King, after receiving Poussin in audience, exclaimed to his Courtiers, "*Voilà Vouet bien attrapé*," and the word went round. Vouet suffered further when Le Brun returned from Italy and intrigued against him at the time of the foundation of the Academy. In this conflict with Le Brun he would doubtless have been defeated in the end. But he was spared this humiliation because he died in 1659 before the Academy was finally established.

Though now completely forgotten Vouet was a most important figure in the history of French art. His work stands at the root of nearly all the Parisian ecclesiastical and decorative painting of the first half of the century; and his influence is seen not only in pictures by his pupils, Le Sueur and Le Brun, but also in certain works of Poussin himself.³

iiij. *Eustache Le Sueur*

BORN PARIS 1616. DIED PARIS 1655

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	The Holy Family
Paris.	Louvre	The Angel appearing to Hagar in the desert
Paris.	Louvre	The Descent from the Cross
Paris.	Louvre	St. Paul preaching at Ephesus
Paris.	Louvre	The Virgin appearing to St. Martin of Tours
Paris.	Louvre	The Mass of St. Martin of Tours
Paris.	Louvre	View of the Chartreuse de Paris, with figures and plan

¹ Vouet's ecclesiastical style was a compound of all the contemporary Italian formulæ rendered tiresome in a special way by the heaviness of the figures which is accompanied by attempts at affected grace—(note the angel's little figure in Pl. 21a). In his decorative style we see the influence of his visit to Venice (cf. Pl. 22b).

² Cf. p. 67.

³ Cf. Pls. 22a and 22b.

EUSTACHE LE SUEUR

Paris.	Louvre	The life of St. Bruno (twenty-two pictures)
Paris.	Louvre	Hôtel Lambert, "Cabinet d'Amour" (seven pictures)
Paris.	Louvre	Hôtel Lambert, "Chambre des Muses" (six pictures)
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait group of M. de Chambray and friends
Paris.	Louvre	Tobias receiving instructions for his journey from his parents
Grenoble.	Museum	The Angel leaving Tobias
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	The Wedding Night of Tobias
Budapest.	Museum	Tobias returning to his parents
Le Mans.	Museum	Diana and her attendants hunting
Tours.	Museum	St. Louis tending the sick
Rouen.	Museum	The dream of Polyphilus

Le Sueur is another artist who is largely forgotten to-day though he painted some of the most charming religious and decorative pictures of the seventeenth century. I use the word religious, rather than ecclesiastical, in speaking of this artist's work, because his best pictures of religious subjects seem imbued with an intense and simple religious spirit that is rarely met with in any painting after the early years of the Italian Renaissance.¹

Le Sueur was born in Paris. His father was a turner. He thus belonged to the artisan class, and in that class he remained all through his life. He never went to Italy, and he never aspired to the fashionable position of Vouet though he worked for some

¹ Le Sueur was greatly admired by Reynolds, who spoke of him as constituting with Poussin and Le Brun a colony from the Roman School to which he assigned rank above the Venetian, Flemish and Dutch. In our own time he has been the subject of some curious and harsh judgments. M. Henri Lemonnier classes him with the French *genre* painters, the Le Nain brothers, and the engravers Callot and Bosse (cf. pp. 47 and 85). Sir Charles Holmes has written: "In Lesueur an intellectual temper similar to Poussin's was joined to a Raphaellesque sense of proportion and the resulting product is just redeemed from being colourless (his colour is his weakest point) by a certain rather frigid lead beauty"—a most strange comment on Le Sueur's colour. Ruskin described Le Sueur's religious pictures as "pure abortion and nuisance," and he described the Virgin and the saints in the *Virgin appearing to St. Martin* as "beautifully buoyant and graceful and tender, but not religious nor sublime."

EUSTACHE LE SUEUR

people in the fashionable world. He married the daughter of a painter, one of his sons was a grocer and one of his daughters also had a grocer for her husband. He graduated as Master in the *Maitrise*; when invited to do so he joined the Academy, without fuss; and he paid his subscriptions regularly to that institution which the more fashionable members in the main omitted to do. He was a kindly, simple man without pretensions; and his character is reflected in his pictures.

He was fifteen when he was apprenticed to Vouet, and he was doubtless regarded as a dunce by his fellow-pupils, Mignard and Le Brun. He profited, however, by Vouet's instruction and absorbed his manner so completely that one of his earliest pictures, the portrait group, *M. de Chambray and his friends*, in the Louvre, was long ascribed to Vouet himself.¹

After leaving Vouet's atelier he began to get commissions to design frontispieces and vignettes for books, and for pictures in churches, monasteries and private *hôtels*. His most important decorative commission was a series of panels for two rooms, known as the *Cabinet d'Amour* and the *Chambre des Muses*, in the Hôtel Lambert, belonging to Nicolas Lambert de Thorigny, President of the *Chambre des Comptes*.

The panels in the *Chambre des Muses*—(now in the Louvre)—consist of two large and three small compositions. The large pictures represent groups of the Muses—the first Clio, Euterpe and Thalia (Pl. 23d), the second Melpomene, Erato and Polymnia, (Pl. 23b); the small pictures represent single figures of Urania, Terpsichore and Calliope. Here we see Le Sueur in the field where Raphael's *Parnassus* in the Vatican reigns supreme.²

But Raphael's fresco is a superb pageant designed by a pageant master of genius and executed as it were by skilled professional actors wearing costumes from the best theatrical costumier of the

¹ The influence of Vouet is also seen in Le Sueur's *Diana and her attendants hunting* (which I presume is an early work) in the Le Mans Museum. This picture is curiously hybrid. The figures are painted in the manner of Vouet, with artificial flying draperies and bare breasts and legs; and they are accompanied by realistically painted sporting dogs complete with collars and chain-rings.

² Le Sueur, as noted, never went to Italy, but he was familiar with Raphael's work from engravings.

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day. Le Sueur's pictures are *tableaux vivants* performed by amateurs who make up in friendliness for their shortcomings in professional *panache*.

In the first group the performers, I feel, are the more mature and experienced of the members of the family who have organised these *tableaux*; they are elder sisters or possibly young aunts. Clio the Muse of History has a book and the Trumpet of Fame, Euterpe the Muse of Lyric Poetry plays the flute, and at their feet Thalia the Muse of Comedy contemplates a mask. They all wear blue or bluish-grey draperies and Clio has a red drapery across her knees.

In the second group, on the other hand, we have younger members of the family. Here Melpomene the Muse of Hymns is chanting from a book of music, Polymnia the Muse of Tragedy plays on the bass violin and casts her eyes to heaven in anguish, and Erato the Muse of erotic poetry, who is discreetly given no attribute, peeps over Polymnia's shoulder. What could be more engaging than Melpomene sitting as good as gold upon the ground with a drapery thrown over her frock and flowers in her hair, singing so demurely from the book of choral music—borrowed maybe for the occasion?¹

The Hôtel Lambert pictures date from the sixteen-forties. About the same time Le Sueur was commissioned to paint twenty-two pictures of the life of St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian Order, for a cloister in the Chartreuse Monastery in Paris.²

¹ Most of these pictures from the Hôtel Lambert—for Louvre pictures—are in very fair condition. But in some cases there has evidently been clumsy repainting, especially in the red draperies, which have become a heavy and crude scarlet. Where Le Sueur's work has been preserved the reds are of a delicate rose-vermilion, and the blues are warmed with a gold glaze; in the original passages the surface has a tapestry-like quality that is very characteristic.

² The Chartreuse Monastery in Paris was situated on a site now occupied by the Avenue de l'Observatoire and the houses between this avenue and the rue d'Assas. It is seen in Le Sueur's Louvre *View of the Chartreuse of Paris with plan*, which makes an interesting contrast with El Greco's *View of Toledo with plan* (in the Casa Greco, at Toledo), which was painted about fifty years before. The episodes assigned to Le Sueur were those which are related in the official Lives of St. Bruno, together with the episode of Raymond Diocres, which is described by Butler in his *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs*

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These pictures are now in the Louvre, but it is almost impossible to judge them in their present condition as they were originally placed in the open air where they suffered from damp, exposure, neglect and wilful damage, and since then they have been completely repainted on three occasions. One picture alone of the series, *The Death of St. Bruno* (Pl. 24), still conveys to us the spirit of the artist's work.

We can see Le Sueur's individuality as a religious painter most clearly in *The Mass of St. Martin at Tours* (Pl. 25), painted for the Abbaye de Marmoutiers. The episode represented is not that of St. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar at the gate of Amiens, but a similar episode at Tours when the saint gave his own tunic to a beggar and celebrated the Mass in a cheap tunic which the archdeacon had intended him to give to a beggar for whom he had been instructed to provide clothes. In Le Sueur's picture St. Martin is celebrating the Mass and above his head is a globe of fire—the sign that the beggar had in fact been Christ. Le Sueur has here achieved a very lovely work. There is a gentle serenity in this picture which is not destroyed by the genre painting of the congregation because the genre passages are treated with formal simplicity. The colour too is quite enchanting; the woman in the foreground wears a rose-

and other *Principal Saints* as "mere hearsay fiction injudiciously credited by those who committed it to writing." St. Bruno was born in 1030. "In his infancy," says Butler, "he seemed above the usual weakness of that age and nothing childish ever appeared in his manners." After various scholastic and theological studies he eventually rose to distinction in the Church and was about to be made Archbishop of Rheims when he felt a call to renounce the benefits and pleasures of the world. The episode of Raymond Diocres occurs as the motif for this decision which is otherwise attributed to less dramatic causes. Raymond Diocres was a famous theological doctor of Paris whose sermons were attended by the youthful St. Bruno and fired him with enthusiasm. When Diocres died he was granted the funeral honours of a holy man. But in fact he was an impostor and when his body was lying in state the horror-stricken mourners observed it rise in agony and utter three terrible cries: "By the just judgment of God I am accused," "I am judged," "I am condemned." Le Sueur's first picture is *St. Bruno listening to the Sermon of Raymond Diocres*; the second, *The Death of Raymond Diocres*; the third, *The corpse of Raymond Diocres announcing his damnation*, represents the writhing, shrieking corpse striking the spectators with consternation.

EUSTACHE LE SUEUR

vermillion skirt, an olive-green bodice and a blue wimple ; the globe of fire is the same red as the skirt ; the rest of the picture is composed of delicate blues, whites and greys.¹

The Mass of St. Martin of Tours is now in the Louvre. In another picture by Le Sueur, *The Apparition of the Virgin to St. Martin*, also in the Louvre, the figure of St. Martin is extremely moving in its intense humility.²

In addition to these commissions for churches and religious institutions Le Sueur painted a number of religious pictures for private patrons. The Louvre has a charming *Hagar and the Angel in the Desert*, and a scene from the story of Tobias—one of a series of which others are preserved in the museums of Grenoble, Montpellier and Buda Pesth. The Montpellier picture represents *The Wedding Night of Tobias*, an incident which is rare in the many pictured versions of the story in Italian and Dutch art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³

¹ In Le Sueur's picture the Saint is wearing his own vestments, not the cheap tunic of the legend.

² This picture, formerly catalogued as *St. Scholastica appearing to St. Benedict*, was the object of Ruskin's unfavourable comment quoted in my note on p. 42.

The most famous of Le Sueur's religious paintings in his day was the *St. Paul preaching at Ephesus*, painted for Notre Dame and now in the Louvre. This shows the burning of the magic books of those "which used curious arts," while St. Paul preaches in front of the Temple of Diana and a negro kneels on the ground and blows the fire. To the modern spectator this picture makes small appeal. It is too obviously a pastiche put together from Raphael's *Death of Ananias* and *St. Paul at Athens*.

³ Tobias it will be remembered was sent by his blind father Tobit to Rhages in Ecbatana to recover a debt. As Tobit had won favour in God's sight Tobias was accompanied on his journey by the angel Raphael. On the journey Tobias washed his feet in the Tigris and was attacked by a fish. Aided by the angel he killed the fish and became possessed of its liver and heart and of its gall. At Rhages he recovered his father's money and was able to win his cousin Sara of Ecbatana as his bride. Sara had been the victim of an evil spirit Asmodeus ; she had been married seven times and by the action of the evil spirit her husbands had always died on the wedding night. Instructed by the angel Tobias burned the liver and heart of the fish, and the fumes drove away the demon so that he could marry her in peace ; and when he returned home he was able to cure his father's blindness by application of the fish's gall. In Le Sueur's picture we see the liver and heart of the fish being burned in a brasier while the demon departs in the smoke, and Sara, seated on the nuptial bed, looks on with approbation.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LOW COUNTRIES

iv. *The Influence of the Low Countries*

Side by side with this production of pictures for royalty, the wealthy, and the Church, there was a more popular production of small easel pictures resembling the popular descriptive pictures of the Low Countries. Up to the seventeenth century popular descriptive art, produced in all countries, had generally been executed in cheap and fugitive materials. In Renaissance times art depicting scenes of everyday life was generally in the form of drawings or of prints on paper from wood-blocks or copper plates. In France this tradition continued into the reign of Louis XIII; Jacques Callot (1592-1635) made drawings and engravings describing tramps and gipsies, and he has left us mordant records of the pomp and the miseries of seventeenth-century war; and Abraham Bosse¹ (1602-1676) engraved scenes of French bourgeois life with sly humour. This popular art first invaded oil painting in the seventeenth century in the Low Countries, especially in Holland; and it was not long before oil paintings in the manner of Van Ostade, Molenaer, Paul Potter and Teniers began to be seen in Paris.

There was, moreover, a recognised Low Country colony in the region of St. Germain des Près, where various painters whom Rubens had brought to Paris as assistants had established themselves. These Flemish and Dutch artists by the rules of the *Maitrise* were not allowed to exhibit their work in Paris or trade in pictures; only those who made terms with the *Maitrise* or obtained Royal protection were able to do so; but the others could expose their work for sale at the St. Germain Fair, in February each year, because St. Germain des Près, then outside the city, was a privileged place, with its own Guild of artists not controlled by the central *Maitrise* in Paris.²

At the St. Germain Fair, accordingly, the exhibition of little popular paintings by Dutch and Flemish artists was a regular feature. These pictures were mainly sold for trifling sums to the *petite bourgeoisie*; but when the Fair began to be visited by fashionable people from the new St. Germain and Luxembourg *hôtels* a few rich dilettanti of independent taste also began to

¹ Cf. note p. 85.

² Cf. pp. 7, 83, 84, 122.

THE BROTHERS LE NAIN

collect them ; and in the later years of the century—in spite of the famous comment of Louis XIV, “ *enlevez moi ces magots* ”—the serious collecting of Flemish and Dutch pictures very considerably increased.¹

The influence of the Dutch painters is plainly seen in the works of three most interesting French artists, the brothers Antoine, Louis and Mathieu Le Nain ; and that of another type of Low Country painter, Gerard Honthorst, is seen in the pictures by Georges Dumesnil de la Tour.

v. The Brothers Le Nain

ANTOINE LE NAIN

BORN LAON 1588. DIED PARIS 1648

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	Portrait Group (signed Lenain)
London.	The Countess of Bute	The Studio
Glasgow.	Art Galleries	Interior with figures
Paris.	Louvre	Family Group (signed Le Nain fecit 1642)
Paris.	Louvre	Portraits in an interior (signed, Le Nain fecit 1647)
Paris.	David Weill Collection	The Grace

LOUIS LE NAIN

BORN LAON 1593 ? DIED PARIS 1648

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	Saying Grace
London.	Victoria and Albert Museum	Landscape with figures. (La Halte du Cavalier)
London.	Duke of Rutland Collection	Peasants before their house (signed, and dated 1640 ?)
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts (formerly Earl of Carlisle Collection)	Peasants before their house
Detroit.	Institute of Arts (with Antoine Le Nain ?)	The Village Piper

¹ Cf. pp. 93, 102, 103, 111.



Paris. Louvre

LOUIS LE NAIN. Peasant Family.



Detroit. Institute of Arts

ANTOINE AND LOUIS LE NAIN. The Village Piper.



Le Louvre and Art Museum

LOUIS LE NAIN. La Halte du Cavalier.



The Hague - Mauritshuis

PAUL POTTER. Young Bull.

THE BROTHERS LE NAIN

Paris.	Louvre	The Return from Haymaking. (La Charrette) (signed Le Nain fecit 1641)
Paris.	Louvre	The Peasant's Meal (signed Le Nain fecit an° 1642)
Paris.	Louvre	Peasant Family
Paris.	Louvre	The Forge
Paris.	Louvre	Nativity. (La Crèche)
Paris.	Paul Jamot Collection	The Return from the ball (signed Le Nain f. 1642)
Avignon.	Musée Calvet	Portrait of a Nun (perhaps La Marquise de Forbin-Janson) (signed Act. Suave 34. An° 1644 Lenain f th)
Lille.	Museum	The Open-air meal

MATHIEU LE NAIN

BORN LAON 1607. DIED PARIS 1677

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Mendicants
Chicago.	Art Institute	Peasant Family
Worcester (Mass.).	Art Museum	Children playing Cards
Detroit.	Institute of Arts	A Peasant meal
Paris.	Louvre	Tric-trac players
Paris.	Louvre	The little card players
Paris.	Louvre	Group of amateurs
Paris.	Baronne de Berckheim Collection	The Corps de Garde (signed Lenain fecit 1643)
Paris.	Private Collection	The Gardener
Paris.	Louis Sambon Collection	The dancing lesson
Paris.	Dr. Mary Collection	Nativity (signed Le Nain f. 1674)
Rheims.	Museum	Venus in the Forge of Vulcan (signed Lenaun fecit 1641)
Le Puy.	Museum	Portrait of a Young Man
Laon.	Museum	Portrait of a Young Man (dated 1646)

There is an old tradition that the Brothers Antoine, Louis and Mathieu Le Nain collaborated on all their pictures; and till recently no attempt was made to distinguish the works of the three men. But in 1910 Sir Robert Witt, on the occasion of an exhibition of their works at the Burlington Fine Arts Club,

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subjected the exhibits to detailed examination and established the basis of each man's separate style. Since then M. Paul Jamot has made an exhaustive study of the subject and completed the grouping of all the known pictures ascribed to these artists. I give above lists of the outstanding pictures as now divided among them.

Antoine Le Nain was the eldest of the three brothers. He painted little portrait groups. He had a shrewd and humorous eye but never attained to any great skill in the conduct of a picture. He was always defeated by problems of proportion; the heads of the various figures in his groups are of different sizes, they are often too big for the bodies, and many of his figures appear to be dwarfs. *The Village Piper* (Pl. 27b) in the Detroit Institute of Arts which is ascribed to Louis seems to me to contain passages which seem characteristic of Antoine. On the other hand the piper himself and the girl on the right seem too completely realised to be Antoine's unaided work and to be extremely characteristic of Louis. We can assume here, I submit, collaboration between the two brothers—and we have the old tradition to support this view.

Antoine Le Nain never graduated in the Paris *Maîtrise*. But he acquired the rank of Master in the Guild of St. Germain and he doubtless frequented the St. Germain Fair and exhibited and sold his pictures there. We may assume that his brothers were in the same position till all three acquired Parisian reputations and were invited to join the Academy when in 1648 it was selecting members hostile to the *Maîtrise*.¹

Louis Le Nain was the outstanding artist of the three. His *Peasant Family* (Pl. 27a) and *Peasant Meal*, in the Louvre, are masterpieces. Here we have the Dutch descriptive art of the period lifted from the level of commonplace genre to the level of the Velasquez *Old woman frying eggs* in the Cook Collection at Richmond, which had been painted about a quarter of a century before.

Louis Le Nain also painted some outdoor groups in which again we find a dignity that is usually absent from similar Dutch pictures. The Louvre has *The Return from Haymaking* of this character, and there is a fine *Landscape with figures* which the

¹ Cf. pp. 82-85.

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French critics call *La Halte du Cavalier*, in the Ionides Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

These outdoor subjects, especially *La Halte du Cavalier* (Pl. 28a), demonstrate, I think, that Louis Le Nain was acquainted with the work of his contemporary Paul Potter, painter of the celebrated *Young Bull* (Pl. 28b) in the Mauritshuis, The Hague. There is nothing in Louis Le Nain's technique which approximates to the technique of the majority of contemporary Dutch and Flemish painters who worked with a light touch and an oily brilliance of transparent colour. But Paul Potter's handling of paint was different. His touch was deliberate, the substance of his pigment was thick and opaque, and his colour was predominantly grey. In the *Halte of a Cavalier* Louis Le Nain has handled his paint in just Paul Potter's way; and there is also a resemblance to the *Young Bull* in the general composition of the picture.¹

But even making the maximum allowance for Louis Le Nain's debt to such Dutch pictures his works remain essentially individual, and essentially French. The gravity, the restraint, and the feeling in his work represent an aspect of the French spirit which is deeply rooted in the permanent simplicities of life. This aspect, which we find in another form in the pictures of Le Sueur, found no expression in the French decorative art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It reappeared in the eighteenth century in the pictures by Chardin,² and in the nineteenth in certain works by Paul Cézanne.³

Scholars are still undecided about the list of Louis Le Nain's

¹ Paul Potter worked in Delft, Amsterdam and The Hague. He was born eighteen years after Louis Le Nain and outlived him by six years. His Hague *Young Bull* is dated 1647—the year before Louis Le Nain died. Other versions of the picture exist which may have been painted earlier and one of them or a similar picture may have found its way to the St. Germain Fair. Potter had many pupils and imitators including Jacob Duck whose works, notably *The Stable* in Amsterdam and the *Pipe Drunk Woman* in Munich, have various affinities with Le Nain's. (Cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, Pls. 84 and 88.) Judging from a photograph the picture known as *Chasse à l'Épieu* ascribed to "Le Nain" in the Hamelin Collection in Paris would seem to be a work by Paul Potter.

² Cf. Pls. 59–63.

³ Cf. Pl. 129.

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portraits. But there is general agreement on the fine Avignon *Portrait of a Nun* (Pl. 26).

Antoine and Louis Le Nain both died in 1648. Mathieu, the youngest brother, outlived them for nearly thirty years. He was to all intents and purposes an artist of the Dutch popular school, a species of French Duyster. He painted portraits, including the clever *Portrait of a Youth* in the Laon Museum, genre pictures of young men playing tric-trac, bourgeois interiors, and so forth. The *Peasant Meal* (Pl. 30b) in the Detroit Institute of Arts and the *Tric-Trac Players* in the Louvre are typical of his genre work.

A large painting in the Louvre, the *Nativity* (*La Crèche*), attributed by M. Jamot to Louis Le Nain, and described in the Louvre Catalogue as "Attributed to Louis Le Nain," may also possibly be a work by Mathieu. It is a curiously eclectic picture in which we see a Virgin with a Rubens facial type, a young girl who resembles the favourite model of Caravaggio, and elements which seem Spanish. It demonstrates the variety of foreign styles with which the brothers had contact when they frequented the St. Germain Fair.¹

The same applies to Mathieu Le Nain's curious *Venus in the Forge of Vulcan* (Pl. 30a) at Rheims, where with considerable gaucherie the artist has attempted a mythological composition which contrasts strangely with *The Forge* (in the Louvre) by his brother Louis on the one hand and with *The Forge of Vulcan* (in the Prado) by Velasquez on the other.²

¹ It is probable that Italian and Spanish pictures as well as Dutch and Flemish found their way to the St. Germain Fair. It is impossible to dissociate the *gamins* in the Le Nains' pictures from the *gamins* of Murillo. We may assume that if versions of works by the Spanish masters reached the St. Germain market, they were not originals but school pieces or copies.

² Mathieu Le Nain's *Forge of Vulcan* was painted in 1641; the Velasquez picture in 1630.

GEORGES DUMESNIL DE LA TOUR

vi *Georges Dumesnil de la Tour*

BORN LUNÉVILLE BEFORE 1600. DIED LUNÉVILLE 1652

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

Paris.	Louvre	Adoration of the Shepherds
Paris.	Louvre	Denial of St. Peter
Nantes.	Museum	The Angel appearing to Joseph
Nantes.	Museum	Peter and the Serving Woman
Rennes.	Museum	Mother and Child
Epinal.	Vosges Museum	A young woman visiting a prisoner
Berlin.	Kaiser-Friedrich Museum	St. Sebastian mourned by Women
Munich.	Fischmann Collection	Woman's Head illuminated by candle- light

Georges Dumesnil de la Tour, painter of the striking picture *St. Sebastian mourned by Women* (Pl. 29), was a very able artist with a sense of drama and dramatic effect. All the pictures now ascribed to him are illuminated by candlelight, or torchlight, and they are marked by fine serenity and broad simplifications in the forms.

It is clear that Dumesnil de la Tour was acquainted with the works of the School of painters known in Italy as the *Tenebrosi*. The art of these painters was based in the first place on Raphael's night scene, *The Liberation of St. Peter*, in the Vatican, and in the second on the spotlight effects in certain pictures by Caravaggio; and it was brought to the north by the Dutch painter, Gerard Honthorst, who went to Rome about 1610 and remained there till 1622.¹

The resemblance of Dumesnil de la Tour's works to certain pictures by Honthorst is very evident. But we can only guess at the relation between the two artists because we know next to nothing of Dumesnil's life.

¹ Cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art* (pp. 50-54 and Pls. 23, 24, 25 and 26) where the influence of the *Tenebrosi* on Rembrandt via Honthorst is discussed. In Rome Honthorst painted a whole series of candlelight and torchlight pictures which included a *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, the *Christ before Caiaphas* (now in the London National Gallery), the *Boy singing by Candlelight* and the *Girl catching a Flea in her Nightdress* (both now in the Doria Gallery in Rome), and he thereby earned for himself the title of Gerardo della Notte (Gerard of the Night).

PORTRAIT PAINTERS

We know that he was born in Lunéville where he died in 1652, that he received commissions from Louis XIII, from the Governor of Nancy, and from Duke Charles IV of Lorraine; and that he painted in 1644 a *Nativity* (perhaps the Louvre *Adoration*), in 1648 a *Saint Alexis*, in 1649 a *Saint Sebastian*, and at other times a *Denial of St. Peter* and other pictures of St. Sebastian.

He thus clearly had influential patrons one of whom may have provided the money for a journey to Rome. If we put this presumed journey between 1615 and 1622 he might have met Honthorst himself. Alternatively he may have visited Holland and become acquainted with the works of Honthorst or his followers in that way. In favour of a Dutch visit there is the striking resemblance of the formal simplifications in his pictures to those in pictures by Vermeer of Delft. There is also, of course, the third alternative that he may have seen examples or imitations of Honthorst's pictures in France.

Dumesnil de la Tour in any case was no mere *pasticheur*. His pictures are not a mere combination of the formal feeling of Vermeer illuminated by the light effects of Honthorst. They reveal a personal artist. The *St. Sebastian mourned by Women* is one of the most original pictures in French seventeenth-century production.¹

vij. Portrait Painters

The most appreciated portrait painters of this period were the cousins Henri de Beaubrun (1603-1677) and Charles de Beaubrun (1604-1692), Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674), Claude Lefebvre (1632-1675), and Robert Nanteuil (1625-1678).

¹ Dumesnil de la Tour is one of the recent discoveries of art-scholarship, in the sense that in recent years various scholars have recognised his hand in a number of pictures the authorship of which was previously unknown.

At present we only know two pictures which are signed. The first is *The Angel appearing to Joseph* at Nantes (which is known at the Museum as *Sleeping Old Man awakened by a Girl*) and *Peter and the Serving Woman*, in the same gallery (known as *The Denial of St. Peter*). The second is dated 1650.

The pioneer work on this artist was done by Herr Hermann Voss in *Archiv für Kunstgeschichte* in 1914. M. L. Demonts followed in *Chronique des Arts* in 1922, M. Vitale Bloch in *Formes* in December, 1930. At the moment of going to press I learn that M. Landry, of Paris, owns a daylight subject, *The Card Sharpers*, by this artist.

PORTRAIT PAINTERS

The reputation of the de Beaubruns was immensely high all through the century. In the early part of their career they painted Louis XIV at the age of eight days, and Anne of Austria some months before he was born—a special commission from the English Ambassador to celebrate the Queen's condition.¹ Most of the French artists of the period came from the middle and artisan classes; but the de Beaubruns could boast a family tree, and they were persons of polite and charming manners; they flattered their sitters, and their portraits appealed especially to Court ladies. Till Henri died they seem to have worked in collaboration—one presumably painting the faces and the other the draperies. In their Court commissions they were evidently embarrassed by the casual conduct of the ladies who neglected to keep appointments, for a letter survives in which they complain to Colbert that unless the King will be good enough to speak a word to certain ladies to induce them to take the sittings more seriously they will not be able to complete their work.

Most of the portraits by the de Beaubruns have now disappeared or are labelled "French Seventeenth-Century School," but the manner of Charles can be studied in the portrait (painted after his brother's death) of *Mlle de Valois* in the Prado in Madrid, and their joint work can be seen in two portraits in the Musée Condé at Chantilly, one of which shows the celebrated *Duchesse de Longueville* whose beauty moved her admirers to the most lyrical descriptions even after the smallpox had played havoc with her *teint de perle*.

Philippe de Champaigne was born in Brussels, but as he worked almost exclusively in France he is usually included in the French School. As a portrait painter he introduced a categoric realistic manner and impressed his contemporaries by the "lifelike" quality of the resemblance. He "modelled," as painters say, with vigour and completeness, more especially in his later years. He was admired above all other portrait painters by Richelieu, and he painted the celebrated full-length portrait of the Cardinal, now in the Louvre, and also the

¹ In Court and ecclesiastical circles the Queen's pregnancy, after many years of despair, was regarded as a miracle obtained by special prayers. Hence the painting of this picture and hence also the first title of Louis XIV : *Dieudonné*.

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extremely interesting full-face and profile head studies now in the National Gallery in London. The head studies were painted for a Roman sculptor who made a bust from them, and they constitute a most valuable record of the Cardinal's real appearance. Two imposing groups, by de Champaigne, are now in the Louvre. The first represents the architects *François Mansart and Claude Perrault*, the second *La Mère Catherine-Agnès Arnaud et la Soeur Catherine de Sainte-Suzanne* (Pl. 60b).

The picture of the nuns was painted in the convent of Port Royal in 1662 when the artist had to a large extent withdrawn from the official world and was frequenting the Jansenists by whom the institution had been founded. The younger nun on the *chaise longue* was the artist's daughter who had been attacked by fever and paralysis and given up by the doctors, when, as we read in the inscription, she was miraculously cured by the prayers of Mother Catherine-Agnès in a nine days' retreat.¹

Claude Lefebvre was a pupil of Le Sueur and Le Brun. He was another favourite portrait painter of the Court, and he painted Colbert. The Louvre has his *Portraits d'un précepteur et son élève* and a male portrait. From his style he may be presumed to have studied portraits by Van Dyck.

Robert Nanteuil worked mainly as an engraver and pastellist. Louis XIV, Anne of Austria, Mazarin and Colbert sat to him.

viii. *French Artists in Rome*

In all this artistic activity the two greatest French painters of the period took scarcely any part. Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin both lived almost entirely in Rome. Claude was there from 1627 till his death in 1682. Poussin was there from 1624 to 1640 and from 1643 till his death in 1665.

Rome at this time had large colonies of artists from Germany, Flanders, Holland and France. The artists went there for the most part in their youth at the expense of a patron to whom they

¹ Philippe de Champaigne also executed decorative compositions all through his life. He arrived in Paris at the age of nineteen and obtained employment on the decorations of the Luxembourg Palace, where his work appealed to Marie de Medicis who eventually attached him to her establishment as director of the decorations, which made him independent of the Parisian *Maîtrise*.



Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

DUMESNIL DE LA TOUR. St. Sebastian mourned by Women.



Rheims - Museum

MATHEU LE NAIN, *Venus in the Forge of Vulcan*,



Paris - Louvre - Arts

MATHEU LE NAIN, *Peasant Meal*.

FRENCH ARTISTS IN ROME

sent back specimens of their studies and for whom they made copies of Old Masters and often collected *objets d'art*; others worked their way to Italy by painting at various places on the journey or rendering services to fellow travellers with means, for such journeys were always made in groups of people who travelled together for mutual protection. This method of travel had obvious advantages for a young artist over the express-train travelling or even the car-travelling of to-day; for it was accomplished in short stages, the artists could survey the country through which they travelled and form an acquaintance with monuments in the towns and cities on the route. The journey was in fact an education for an artist in itself.

Arrived in Rome the artists found themselves in an atmosphere where they could not only study contemporary Italian painting and have contact with the contemporary artistic thought of the Italian and foreign intelligentsia, but where they were also able to study the achievements of the Renaissance and the remains of antiquity. In the Rome which these artists knew fragments of ancient architecture abounded, sometimes upright, sometimes lying on the ground. Claude and the Roman-ruin painters who followed him did not invent the fallen pillars and deserted temples that figure in their pictures, they actually saw them. Claude's *View of the Campo Vaccino*, for example, is based on the Forum as it appeared in his day when it was used as a cattle-market.

The seventeenth-century conceptions of antique art were different from our own. The artist in Rome in this period knew little of and cared little for Greek art. The Parthenon and its sculptures were unknown and the average seventeenth-century artist even if acquainted with fifth-century and archaic Greek sculpture paid no heed to them. The most admired statues in the Vatican collection were the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Laocöon*, and the *Farnese Hercules*. Poussin, who penetrated more deeply into the antique spirit, achieved a comprehension that was personal and unique.

After a few years in Rome the artists generally returned to their own countries where, if they had been financed by patrons, they were introduced by them to the fashionable world. Occasionally they were able by their own paintings to attract the

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attention of Italian dilettanti and make money and a local reputation in Rome; and more occasionally still they had so much success in Rome that they were able to establish themselves as permanent residents in the city—as happened in the case both of Claude and of Poussin.

In Paris in the first half of the century the majority of artists were still regarded as *fournisseurs* of decorative and ecclesiastical pictures who were expected to submit their designs to their employers and work in accordance with their employers' taste. In Rome both Claude and Poussin worked in complete independence; after a period of struggle they both succeeded in acquiring the liberty to paint what they pleased, to take their own time about their work, and to obey the dictates of their own æsthetic ideals. Many of their pictures were commissions; but their patrons left them a free hand. Paris could thus offer nothing that could tempt Claude and Poussin to abandon their independence, which marked the beginning of the modern conception of the artist's position; and when Poussin came into contact with the old Parisian attitude he soon desired nothing so much as to return to Rome—and this though Louis XIII and Richelieu were overwhelmingly gracious and placed at his disposal a comfortably furnished house where he found on his arrival a stock of fuel and a cask of excellent old wine.

ix. *Claude le Lorrain*

BORN CHAMAGNE (VOSGES) 1600. DIED ROME 1682

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	Seaport at Sunset
London.	National Gallery	Landscape: Cephalus and Procris
London.	National Gallery	Seaport. The Queen of Sheba
London.	National Gallery	Seaport. St. Ursula
London.	National Gallery	Echo and Narcissus
London.	National Gallery	Aeneas at Delos
Philadelphia.	Widener Collection	Landscape with classical buildings
Philadelphia.	J. G. Johnson Collection	Sunset on the Bay
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	Parnassus

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Paris.	Louvre	La Fête Villageoise
Paris.	Louvre	View of the Campo Vaccino in Rome
Paris.	Louvre	Seaport with Sunset
Paris.	Louvre	Seaport. The landing of Cleopatra
Brussels.	Museum	Landscape : Aeneas hunting
Berlin.	Kaiser Friedrich Museum	Landscape : Mercury and Argus
Munich.	Alte Pinakothek	Landscape with cattle
Munich.	Alte Pinakothek	The Expulsion of Hagar
Munich.	Alte Pinakothek	Hagar and Ismael in the Desert
Munich.	Alte Pinakothek	Seaport
Dresden.	Museum	Landscape : Acis and Galatea
Dresden.	Museum	Landscape : The Flight into Egypt
Rome.	Doria Gallery	Landscape : The Mill (The Wedding of Isaac and Rebecca)
Madrid.	Prado	Port of Ostia : St. Paula departing for the Holy Land
Madrid.	Prado	Roman ruins : The burial of St. Sabina
Madrid.	Prado	Landscape : The Finding of Moses
Madrid.	Prado	Landscape : Tobias removing the liver of the fish
Madrid.	Prado	Landscape : Peasants and cattle crossing a stream
Leningrad.	Hermitage	Morning. Eliczer and Rebecca (?)
Leningrad.	Hermitage	Midday. The Rest on the Flight
Leningrad.	Hermitage	Evening. Tobias removing the liver of the fish

Claude Gellée, known as Claude le Lorrain or Claude Lorrain, was the son of obscure parents who both seem to have died before he was twelve. At that age he went to live with an elder brother at Freiburg-in-Breisgau who taught him engraving. At fifteen he attached himself to another relation, a dealer in lace, who was travelling to Italy. In Rome and Naples he obtained various employments—including, according to a contemporary biographer, employment as a pastry-cook—and he worked in the studios of a Cologne painter, Gottfried Wols or Walls, who taught him architectural perspective, and of Agostino Tassi (1565-1644).

He left Tassi's studio in 1625 and visited Venice. From there he worked his way through the Tyrol to Bavaria and finally back to his native town. Shortly afterwards we find him at Marseilles where he met the painter Charles Errard who was travelling with his father to Rome. Claude arranged to

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accompany them. He reached Rome again in 1627 and remained there, as noted, till he died.

In Rome he was an obscure figure of the foreign colony for some years. But gradually his work began to attract attention and he obtained some local commissions for decorations; at the same time he painted easel pictures of seaports and views of Rome. About 1630 his *Sea Port with a rising Sun* and *View of the Campo Vaccino* (both now in the Louvre) were bought by M. de Béthune, the French Ambassador. A few years later another patron appeared in the person of Cardinal Bentivoglio who launched him among the Roman dilettanti and introduced him to Pope Urban VIII who ordered four pictures. From about 1640 onwards he had continuous success. From the age of forty-five he sold everything he painted to eminent collectors all over Europe.¹ He worked till his death at the age of eighty-two. He never married. He left a proportion of his property to a little girl aged eleven whom he had adopted as his daughter.

Claude's *œuvre* as we know it consists of numerous pictures in museums and private collections, of hundreds of drawings (of which the British Museum has a great collection), and of the *Liber Veritatis*, a series of two hundred drawings, kept as records of his paintings, which belongs to the Duke of Devonshire.

The pictures fall into three types: (a) classical-picturesque presentations of seaports with figures; (b) classical-picturesque views of Rome with genre or other figures, influenced by Bamboche²; (c) classical-picturesque landscapes with biblical, mythological, or pastoral episodes indicated by the figures.³

¹ In one year nineteen of his pictures were acquired by collectors in England alone.

² Cf. note, p. 86.

³ I apply the word picturesque to Claude's paintings because the English word was invented in the eighteenth century to describe effects in nature which recalled the composition of his pictures, or the type of building which appears in them. In 1801 the celebrated art critic, Payne Knight, recommended the buildings in Claude's pictures to gentlemen desirous of building "picturesque" country homes; twenty-five years later in a book entitled *Landscape Architecture*, one Thomas Laing Meason engraved a series of such buildings for the gentlemen to choose from.

I have added the word "classical" before the word "picturesque" to



CLAUDE LE LORRAIN (1625-1682)
Landscape: The Flight into Egypt

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Most of, if indeed not all, the seaports and views of Rome were painted before 1650; and in connection with the seaports we must remember that Agostino Tassi, with whom Claude worked for nine years, had a reputation as a painter of ports and shipping, and that he was himself a pupil of Paul Bril, the Flemish landscape painter who painted the *Seaport* in the Uffizi (which is founded on the port in Carpaccio's *Departure of St. Ursula* in Venice). *The Port of Ostia: St. Paula departing for the Holy Land* (Pl. 35a), painted with three others for Philip IV of Spain in 1648, is a good example of Claude's work in this field.¹

But though Claude did not invent the seaport and Roman-ruin types of picture he perfected them and inspired numerous painters all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably Panini in Italy and Hubert Robert in France.²

His landscapes with small figures have had an even greater influence on painting. They were the basis of the art of the Dutch picturesque painters—both, Pynacker and Berchem in the seventeenth century, and of that of Richard Wilson in England in the eighteenth; in France they were known to Watteau and Fragonard and to the landscape painters of the eighteenth century; and after a period of neglect in the nineteenth century

indicate the architectural character of Claude's compositions and to distinguish them from the pictures by Crome and Constable, which later in the century caused English writers to describe thatch cottages and spreading chestnut trees as "picturesque." Claude's classical-picturesque style must be distinguished not only from the romantic-picturesque style of the "old English" painters, but also from the new Cubist-picturesque style which has appeared in our own day.

¹ Paul Bril's *Seaport*, in the Uffizi, is reproduced as Pl. 38 in my *Introduction to Dutch Art*. In that book also I have discussed the relation of Claude's seaport *The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba* (in the London National Gallery) to *Dido building Carthage*, painted by Turner as an attempt to surpass it; and I have quoted there some of Ruskin's most vigorous comments on Claude's picture.

Claude knew all the stages of the seaport tradition in painting, because he was not only acquainted with the work of Tassi and of Bril (who had painted a number of celebrated decorations in Rome, including a seventy-foot landscape, with small figures in the Sala Clementina, in the Vatican), but he also doubtless saw Carpaccio's seaports in the St. Ursula series when he went to Venice in 1625.

² Cf. pp. 171, 172, and Pl. 73.

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they have again become a source of inspiration to artists of the present day.

The Dresden *Flight into Egypt* (Pl. II) is typical of these landscapes. Here we observe first magnificent woods on the left and a river on the right; then in the foreground a girl in classical drapery kneeling to fill her pitcher while a youth, similarly garbed, plays a pipe to a shepherdess; then we note a herd of cattle moving round this group to drink at a pool in the foreground; and finally passing through the trees of the wood on the left we see the Holy Family, with the Virgin mounted on the donkey, pursuing their journey after resting by the stream. The sacred episode which gives the title to this picture, is thus but incidental to the composition as a whole. This is a characteristic of Claude's paintings; he was always mainly concerned with the construction of an architectural picture in which the figures were regarded as details; and he adopted the same procedure when the episodes indicated by the figures were biblical, mythological or pastoral.¹

"Claude," said Ruskin, "set the sun in heaven and was, I suppose, the first who attempted anything like the realisation of actual sunshine in misty air." This is almost the only word of appreciation which we can find among the fierce onslaughts

¹ Claude employed assistants to paint the figures in many of his pictures. The figures in *The Port of Ostia: Departure of St. Paula* (Pl. 35a) are attributed to Jacques Courtois. In the case of pictures which have been properly looked after the figures fuse perfectly with the surrounding landscape to which Claude doubtless "tied" them with final glazes himself. But in Claude's pictures in the Louvre, which have been shockingly neglected and stand in vital need of conditioning, the binding glazes seem to have perished and the figures "jump" forward from their surroundings.

We find genre touches in some of Claude's pictures. There is a laundry basket, for example, by the side of the shepherdess in the Dresden *Flight into Egypt* (Pl. II); in a landscape in the Prado, a shepherdess wading with cattle through a stream holds her petticoats above her knees in true peasant fashion; in the *Rest on the Flight* in the Leningrad Hermitage the Virgin has by her side an ordinary *fiasco* of water or wine. Such genre passages may well be touches put in by Claude's assistants. But on the other hand Claude himself may be responsible, since his drawings prove him susceptible to many kinds of impression. Genre details are not found in the works of Poussin till the landscapes of the last period, such as the *Orpheus and Eurydice* and the *Four Seasons*.

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on Claude's infidelities to nature which Ruskin inserted into "Modern Painters" and subsequent works. But Ruskin, in fact, missed the point of the light effects in Claude's pictures. For Claude's sun never shines from the vault of heaven but always radiates towards the spectator from a flat backcloth, and this backcloth serves to indicate one of the four delimitations of imagined space symbolised by the picture.

Claude had the classical conception of space. He reacted not so much to individual specific forms as to the formal relations of phenomena. This we observe clearly in many of his drawings which reveal a man who drew not in order to record individual boughs of trees or individual mounds of earth or rocks (though he occasionally did this also), but in order to arrive at greater comprehension of the formal movement of one bough in relation to another and of one mound or rock to another. In his drawings he forestalled the modern Cubist-Classical Renaissance (cf. Pls. 126a, 126b, 128a, 128b).¹

¹ In my *Introduction to Dutch Art* (pp. 138 and 139) I have discussed Claude's system and contrasted his *Abraham dismissing Hagar* with pictures of the same nominal subject by Rembrandt, Jan Steen and Van der Werff.

Ruskin assumed that Claude was always trying to record nature "rightly" and failing in the attempt. "I know of no other instance," he wrote, "of a man's working from nature continually with the desire of being true and never attaining the power of drawing so much as a bough of a tree rightly." But Claude was not trying to record nature with the eye of a camera's lens (which was what Ruskin meant by "rightly"; cf. my *Modern Movement in Art*, pp. 76-112). He was trying to do something else and admirably succeeding. We know a good deal about Claude's methods of work from his friend the German artist, Joachim Sandrart, who accompanied him on sketching expeditions in the Campagna in the early years. Claude drew from nature in pen and wash; he also made colour notes; and he spent long hours in contemplation. But all his pictures were painted in his studio.

NICOLAS POUSSIN

x. *Nicolas Poussin*

BORN VILLERS, LES ANDELYS 1594. DIED ROME 1665

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	Venus and Satyrs (1628-32)
London.	National Gallery	Cephalus and Aurora
London.	National Gallery	Bacchanalian Festival (1632-37)
London.	National Gallery	Bacchanalian Dance (1638-39)
London.	National Gallery	Landscape with figures (Phocion) (1648)
London.	Wallace Collection	Allegory of Human Life (The Dance to the music of Time) (1638-40)
London.	Devonshire House	The Shepherds in Arcady (1632-35)
London.	Bridgewater House (Lord Ellesmere Collection)	The Seven Sacraments (Seven pictures) (1644-48)
Richmond.	Cook Collection	Rape of the Sabinas
Belvoir Castle.	(Duke of Rutland Collection)	The Seven Sacraments (Seven pictures) (1638-40)
Knowsley Hall.	(Lord Derby Collection)	The Finding of Phocion (1648)
Longford Castle.	(Lord Radnor Collection)	The Golden Calf (1637-39)
Dulwich.	Gallery	The Triumph of David (1623-26)
Dulwich.	Gallery	The Inspiration of Anacreon
Dulwich.	Gallery	The Nurture of Jupiter (1633-36)
Liverpool.	Walker Art Gallery	Arcadian Landscape
Dublin.	National Gallery	Pietà (1643-48)
New York.	Metropolitan Museum. Havemeyer Collection	Orpheus and Eurydice
Philadelphia.	J. G. Johnson Collection	The Baptism of Christ
Minneapolis.	Institute of Arts	Moses defending the Daughters of Jethro
Paris.	Louvre	Forty-one pictures
Paris.	Private Collection	Bacchus and Erigone (1620-24)
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	The Massacre of the Innocents (1627-29)
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	The Youth of Bacchus (1630-35)
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	The Annunciation (1641-43)
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Landscape with two nymphs (1660-64)



Paris, Louvre

NICOLAS POUSSIN. Self Portrait.



Paris, Louvre

NICOLAS POUSSIN. Apollo and Daphne.



FIG. 100. *Bacchus and Ariadne.*

NICOLAS POUSSIN. *Bacchus and Ariadne.*



FIG. 101.

NICOLAS POUSSIN. *Echo and Narcissus.*

NICOLAS POUSSIN

Berlin.	Kaiser-Friedrich Museum	Landscape with St. Matthew and Angel (1646-53)
Munich.	Alte Pinakothek	Midas before Bacchus (1632-36)
Schleissheim.	Castle Museum	Apollo and Daphne (1630-35)
Vienna.	Liechtenstein Gallery	The Flight into Egypt (1635-38)
Madrid.	Prado	David crowned by Victory (1624- 27)
Madrid.	Prado	Landscape with sarcophagus
Leningrad.	Hermitage	Landscape with Polyphemus (1649)
Leningrad.	Hermitage	Landscape with Hercules and Cacus (1646-50)
Leningrad.	Hermitage	The Triumph of Galathea (1638-40)

Nicolas Poussin is now regarded by the French as one of the greatest of their artists and French critics rank him among the greatest artists of the world. The Louvre possesses forty-one of his pictures of all periods painted at different times of his life ; but nearly all these pictures are so obscured with dirt and discoloured varnish that we can only guess at their original appearance. To discover the range of Poussin's achievements it is therefore essential to supplement a study of the Louvre pictures by a study of others in galleries where the pictures have been properly cleaned and conditioned ; and this fortunately can be done since, outside the Louvre, there are at least a hundred of Poussin's pictures in private collections and museums.¹

From his biographers we have images of Poussin as an old man living peacefully in his house on Monte Pincio in Rome. We are told of his regular habits, his quiet labours, his morning and evening walks surrounded by pupils and admirers to whom he discoursed of art and life. But Poussin was not always old ;

¹ But even in galleries where the pictures are properly looked after many of Poussin's pictures now give us but a faint idea of their appearance when he painted them, because he often used an Indian red ground and this in many cases has darkened the colours or completely worked through them.

Hundreds of pictures were formerly ascribed to Poussin. These included works by his imitators and followers, copies by his pupils, copies by students at later dates, and forgeries. Gaspard Dughet, known as Gaspard Poussin, who was Poussin's brother-in-law, was the most important of his followers.

M. Emile Magne and Dr. Otto Grautoff have established what is now regarded as the master's *œuvre*. Dr. Grautoff has established an approximate chronology. The dates in my list of characteristic pictures above are based on Dr. Grautoff's catalogue.

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and we have but to look at his Louvre *Self Portrait* (Pl. 31a) to realise that he was a man who knew no peace.

Poussin was fifty-six and at the height of his career when he painted this *Self Portrait*. It portrays an artist engaged on a gigantic intellectual task; an artist who was consciously striving to create a microcosm of the universe itself.

Compare this *Self Portrait* with the self portrait painted by Poussin's greatest contemporary at almost the same age—or to be accurate when he was fifty-seven. In the picture known as *Rembrandt as an Old Man*, in the London National Gallery, we see an artist who, with humorous pessimism, has accepted himself as a grubby prematurely decayed old drunkard; an artist content to be a sensual intuitive muddling man. In Poussin's portrait we see a man who, with exalted unhumorous optimism, has tried to be more than mortal and to capture eternal secrets by the sheer force of his own mind. Under Poussin's picture we might set the title: "Portrait of a rationalist" and the legend:

"Sure, he that made us with such large discourse
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability, that god-like reason
To fust in us unused."¹

The facts of Poussin's career can be very briefly stated. He was born in a village in Normandy of humble uneducated parents. He was apprenticed to a local artist and later worked under various minor artists in Paris. After seeing drawings by Raphael and engravings from his pictures and those of other Italian masters he determined in spite of his poverty to make the journey to Rome. In a first attempt at the age of twenty-six he got as far as Florence. In a second some years later he only reached Lyons. At last in 1624 at the age of thirty he arrived in Rome where after a period of hardship culminating in illness he produced the earliest of his pictures that survive. In 1630 he married the daughter of a French *chef* and with her dowry he was able to buy the famous house on Monte Pincio. After this solution of the most pressing material problems he continued his work and began to build up his reputation in Italy. In 1640, in

¹ This was what Ruskin meant when he wrote of Poussin's "strong but degraded mind." In Ruskin's view Poussin's rationalism came straight from the devil.



Munich. Alte Pinakothek

NICOLAS POUSSIN. Midas before Bacchus.



Schleissheim. Castle Museum

NICOLAS POUSSIN. Apollo and Daphne.



Richmond - Cook Collection

NICOLAS POUSSIN. Rape of the Sabines.



Paris - Louvre

NICOLAS POUSSIN. Finding of Moses.

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response to repeated official invitations, he returned to Paris. There he worked for Louis XIII and Richelieu and was put in charge of the decoration of the Long Gallery of the Louvre. But he found himself most ill at ease in the atmosphere of French official art; and two years later he went back to Rome and worked there for the remaining twenty-three years of his life.

Poussin's work falls into four categories: (a) pagan and mythological subjects including Bacchanals, (b) religious subjects, (c) history-pictures, (d) architectural pictures, including landscapes with incidental figures.

(a) All Poussin's pagan and mythological pictures (except one, his very last picture) and all his Bacchanals were painted before he was forty-five. They are the product of his sensibility and mind before he became the pedant of the historical compositions and the great architectural artist of his most significant and personal works; and to the superficial observer they are the most attractive of all his pictures.

I reproduce five pictures in this Category: *Bacchus and Erigone* (Pl. 32a), the Louvre *Echo and Narcissus* (Pl. 32b), the Schleissheim *Apollo and Daphne* (Pl. 33b), the Dresden *Midas before Bacchus* (Pl. 33a) and the Louvre *Apollo and Daphne* (Pl. 31b). The first, which is now in a private collection, I believe, in Paris, is one of Poussin's earliest pictures and it demonstrates that from the outset he was profoundly attracted by antique sculpture. The lovely *Echo and Narcissus* dates, with the Dulwich *Nurture of Jupiter* and *Inspiration of Anacreon*, from this same period (1624-26) when the artist, newly arrived in Rome, was studying the Italian masters,—notably the Carracci and Domenichino (whose studio he frequented), and Titian for whom he was beginning to acquire a burning admiration which led him in 1629 to copy the *Ariadne in Naxos*, and probably other pictures in the same series, then in Cardinal Ludovisi's Palace in Rome.¹

¹ Titian painted this series for the Duke of Ferrara. It consisted of the *Bacchus and Ariadne* in the London National Gallery, the *Feast of the Gods* (begun by Bellini and finished by Titian), now in the Widener Collection in Philadelphia, the *Ariadne in Naxos*, sometimes called a *Bacchanal*, and the *Worship of Venus*, now in the Prado, Madrid. Cardinal Ludovisi presented the *Ariadne in Naxos* and the *Worship of Venus* to Philip IV. Poussin's copy of the *Ariadne in Naxos* is now in the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh.

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To Titian's influence we must attribute the series of Bacchanals (in the Louvre, London National Gallery and elsewhere) which Poussin painted in the next few years. The influence is also clearly seen in the Schleissheim *Apollo and Daphne* (Pl. 33b). But Poussin's personality nevertheless is felt all over the Schleissheim picture; for here we perceive for the first time his desire to create an art of a microcosmic character, his desire to make his picture a symbolic equivalent of some aspect of life as a whole. In this picture all the ages of man are symbolised; it shows us childhood, maturity and old age; and maturity, as in all Poussin's works, is symbolised by man and woman at the age of love. At the same time we observe the artist's preoccupation with antique sculpture in the figure of the old man that personifies the river—a figure that occurs again and again in Poussin's works.

The same microcosmic aim, this time with the addition of contrasts of character, is seen in the Dresden *Midas before Bacchus* (Pl. 33a). Antique sculpture has here been drawn upon for Bacchus and the recumbent figure is derived from Titian's *Ariadne in Naxos*.¹

Poussin's pagan pictures are sensual. But we must distinguish between Poussin's sensuality at this time and the sensuality of Titian. In Titian's pagan pictures we meet a care-free sensuality freely and openly expressed in the most richly sensuous language that the art of painting has ever yet achieved. In Poussin's pagan pictures we have an inhibited sensuality which comes to us distilled through a mind that knows it for what it is; and this distillation is set down in a language of almost scientific accuracy and restraint. For this reason some of Poussin's pagan pictures have an insidious, because disguised, erotic character that we never find in pictures by Titian.²

¹ Other echoes of the figure in Titian's *Ariadne in Naxos* occur in the *Sleeping Venus* (Dresden), *Venus and Satyr* (London National Gallery) and the *Bacchanal* in the Louvre, all painted at this time.

Poussin's other pictures of this period influenced by Titian include the *Youth of Bacchus* (Chantilly), various pictures of Cupids (based on Titian's *Worship of Venus*), the Leningrad *Tancred and Hermione* and *Rinaldo and Armida*, the Louvre *Triumph of Flora*, Lord Carlisle's *Triumph of Bacchus*, the Madrid *David crowned by Victory*, and the London National Gallery *Cephalus and Aurora*.

² The French collector the Comte de Brienne (cf. note, p. 87), who admired Correggio, Giorgione and Titian, had a picture by Poussin which would

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The distilled erotic quality in these pagan pictures by Poussin must also be ascribed to some extent to his study of antique sculpture. Poussin was perfectly conscious of the distilled animalism in Greek and the distilled lust in Roman sculpture and he accepted both. But at the same time he looked to paganism to contribute to the microcosmic art he was seeking to create.

Poussin's pagan pictures differ in fact from all other pictures of pagan subjects in the Christian world. The Venetian painters of these subjects were hedonists, and their pictures were contributions to the enjoyment of the Renaissance conception of life. Mantegna and Botticelli were humanists, and their pictures were contributions to the enjoyment of the Renaissance conception of literature. The painters of the School of Fontainebleau were decorators, and their pictures were contributions to royal grandeur. But Poussin was a pictorial architect and a philosopher. He asked paganism to reveal not only its obvious remains but the secrets of formal harmony and rhythm which Poussin believed its artists had captured; he asked paganism to provide him with material for the architectural picture.¹

The climax of Poussin's pagan pictures is the Louvre *Apollo and Daphne* (Pl. 31b), his very last work painted after he had abandoned these subjects for just on twenty-five years. From what can be seen of this picture, through the especially thick layers of filth which at present obscure it, we can realise that Poussin here assembled as it were the whole cast of players in his pagan pictures and set them in a landscape where in the middle distance we see a herd of cows. The microcosm which he had been seeking was thus enriched at the last moment by

seem to have been a variant of the Dresden *Sleeping Venus*; misfortune overtook him—partly as the result of gambling—and he was retired to a seminary; though he had sold most of his pictures he took the Poussin with him; but complaints were made and he was induced to cut off the legs of his Venus and to insert around her head the Cupids which had previously been grouped around the legs.

¹ Reynolds said that Poussin's mind was "naturalised in antiquity." He was right. But the antique world into which Poussin penetrated was not the real pagan world but an ideal pagan world of his imagination—a world of austere perfection which was quite different from the ideal pagan world imagined by the hedonists and decorators who thought of the antique world as a place more agreeable to live in than the world they knew.

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new material. Poussin was paralysed in hand and legs when he put the last touches to this painting which epitomises, though it may not achieve, the lofty ideal which he had been seeking all his life.

(b) Poussin's pictures of religious subjects fall into three types—ecclesiastical, historical and architectural. The pictures of the first type were painted in the ecclesiastical-decorative manner of Vouet and the other French eclectic painters of the time. The *Flight into Egypt* (Pl. 21b) in Vienna is a good example. The pictures of the second and third types belong, properly speaking, to Poussin's historical and architectural styles.

(c) Poussin's historical pictures were the foundation of the whole school of *peinture d'histoire*, or as the English writers of the eighteenth century called it "history-painting," which was so much discussed and so highly esteemed from the second half of the seventeenth till the middle of the nineteenth century when the Impressionist movement threw it completely overboard.

The history-picture was a reconstruction of some dramatic episode of the past; it was the concoction of a *tableau vivant* on canvas, the crystallisation as it were of a moment in a play. At the same time—and here it differed from the true tradition of Christian religious narrative art—it was expected to be a demonstration of the painter's technical powers. In history-painting moreover the illustrative-dramatic content was expected to take precedence over all others.

In his history-pictures Poussin sometimes selected biblical subjects and sometimes episodes from the history of ancient Rome; the two famous series of the *Seven Sacraments* which now belong respectively to the Duke of Rutland and Lord Ellesmere are examples of the one type, the two versions of the *Rape of the Sabines*, one in the Louvre and the other in Sir Herbert Cook's collection at Richmond (Pl. 34a) are examples of the other.¹

¹ The first category of Poussin's history-pictures also includes the *Masacre of the Innocents* (Chantilly), the *Dulwich Triumph of David*, the *Louvre Plague in Ashdod*, *Moses and Aaron's Rod*, *Woman Taken in Adultery*, *Israelites collecting Manna*, and *Judgement of Solomon*, and the *Leningrad Esther before Ahasuerus*; the second also includes the *Louvre Saving of Pyrrhus*, *Camillus and the Schoolmaster* and *Death of Saphira* and the *Leningrad Continence of Scipio*.



Madrid, Prado

CLAUDE LE LORRAIN. The Port of Ostia; Departure of St. Paula.



Paris, Louvre

NICOLAS POUSSIN. Funeral of Phocion.



London: Museum of Fine Arts

CLAUDE L. LORRAIN. Parnassus.



Chantilly: Musée Condé

NICOLAS POUSSIN. Landscape with Two Nymphs.

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Reynolds said that Poussin was a pedant and in another passage he refers to his work as "dry." These judgments are merited by these history-pictures in which Poussin was at pains to be accurate in archæological details and in which the dramatic content is without the sap of life. For just as in Poussin's pagan pictures we get distilled sensuality so in his history-pictures we get distilled drama. In Poussin's pictures of slaughter, plague and famine we look in vain for the fine frenzy of Tintoretto and Delacroix or the moving intuition of Rembrandt; in their stead we have scenes of passion and movement frozen to frightful immobility as by some instantaneous act of God.

But in these pictures, so tedious to modern eyes, Poussin, in fact, was again attempting to achieve a microcosm; he was aiming at the expression of the whole range of human passions and emotions by gesture and expression. He failed. But the attempt is not to be despised.¹

In his own day the attempt was supremely highly rated. These history-pictures were the real basis of the Academic concept of Great Art which was formulated into doctrine by the French Academy in its early years.² Poussin had paid attention to archæological detail, therefore, said the Academicians, such detail was essential to Great Art; Poussin had a box in which he disposed cardboard figures to establish the composition of his history-pictures, therefore the disposition of figures as on a stage must be accepted as a law; each figure in Poussin's history-pictures makes a definite gesture and each face has its definite expression; therefore, in Great Art, every figure must strike an attitude and make a grimace.³

If Poussin had never painted any of his history-pictures the world might have been spared many thousands of miles of dreary Academic art.

¹ Among Poussin's history-pictures I can recall two in which he seems to me to have achieved the synthesis of human emotions at which he was aiming—the *Weeping over the Dead Christ*, in Dublin, and *The Last Supper*, at Bridgewater House.

² Cf. pp. 86–88.

³ Le Brun's *Alexander and the Family of Darius* (cf. p. 80) was held up as a model to students in the Academy. Le Brun tried in this picture to surpass Poussin and every member of the kneeling family of Darius makes some silly gesture and grimace.

(d) To the modern student it is Poussin's architectural pictures that make the deepest and most direct appeal. From these pictures the influence of Titian's paganism and the illustrative-dramatic ideal of the history-pictures are alike excluded. The central content of these works is their formal harmony and unity. They partake of the character of architecture and the character of music. There are no gestures here to indicate emotions, no facial expressions.¹

Poussin arrived at his final architectural pictures by successive stages and he was working towards them all his life. Lord Radnor's *The Golden Calf* is at once the last of the Bacchanals and a stage in the architectural progress; the *Dance* in the Wallace Collection (otherwise called *An Allegory of Human Life, or Fame, Pleasure, Wealth and Poverty dancing to the Music of Time*), the Louvre *Inspiration of the Poet* (Pl. 22a), *Shepherds of Arcady* and *Finding of Moses* (Pl. 34b) are others.

The final achievement is heralded by a later *Finding of Moses*, also in the Louvre, where the figures are set in a landscape that stretches back to a remote horizon. For, in his last phase, Poussin tried to achieve a microcosm with the aid of landscape. His pictures of this phase are landscapes in which the figures are reduced to the small size that we find in the landscapes by Claude. But Poussin's architectural landscapes bear only a superficial

¹ In some of these pictures in his architectural manner there are no eyeballs within the eyes. The æsthetic gain of this omission is made manifest when we compare one of these pictures with an engraving made from it where the engraver has sought to improve it by putting in the eyeballs, thereby bringing the figures to life and killing the picture.

A picture where the eyeballs are thus omitted is the celebrated *Eliezer and Rebecca* in the Louvre, which was the subject of many discussions at the Academy Conferences (cf. pp. 86-88). An Academician, who mistook this for one of Poussin's history-pictures, complained that he had omitted the ten camels which, we read in the Bible, Eliezer had brought with him and to which Rebecca herself supplied water; but Le Brun replied, from the same point of view, that the camels were properly omitted because the subject of the picture was an offer of marriage and as such it depicted "*une entrevue galante et polie*" at which *bienséance* demanded that no camels should be present. The frieze-like composition of Poussin's picture is in fact based on the Hellenistic painting known as the *Aldobrandini Wedding* which he had copied twenty years before; and the stance of the famous figure of the girl by the well is derived from a figure in that work.

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resemblance to Claude's classical-picturesque art. Claude's landscapes *advance* by a few simple planes from the flat wall at the back of the picture which, as noted, radiates the light. Poussin's landscapes *recede* from the front of the picture by a great number of subtly modulated and related planes to an infinite distance, and the light is diffused all over the picture. I reproduce two examples of such architectural landscapes by Poussin, the Louvre *Funeral of Phocion* (Pl. 35b) and the Chantilly *Landscape with two Nymphs* (Pl. 36b), where the characteristics of the spatial organisation can be plainly seen.¹

I must mention one other aspect of Poussin's achievements, one further attempt to achieve the microcosmic goal. The Louvre has four very celebrated pictures which he painted in the last years of his life for the Duc de Richelieu, whose son wagered and lost them to Louis XIV at tennis.² These are called *Spring*: (*The Earthly Paradise*), *Summer*: (*Ruth and Boaz*), *Autumn*: (*The Return from the Promised Land*), and *Winter*: (*The Deluge*). In these pictures Poussin tried to combine history-painting with architectural landscape. The small figures here are not incidental as in Claude's pictures and Poussin's own landscapes, they have illustrative-dramatic significance and their gestures once again express the gamut of human emotions from the tranquil love of man and woman in the *Earthly Paradise* to the extremity of fear and horror in *The Deluge*. The architectural content of these pictures suffers from the illustrative-dramatic interest that pervades them; but considered as history-pictures they rank as Poussin's most expressive works.

¹ Especially if contrasted with Claude's pictures reproduced in Pls. 35a and 36a. Claude, however, was influenced by Poussin's landscapes as can be seen in Pls. II and 36a. The most important of Poussin's final architectural landscapes, apart from the two I reproduce, are the Louvre *Orpheus and Eurydice* and *Landscape with Diogenes*, the Leningrad *Landscape with Polyphemus* and *Landscape with Hercules and Cacus*, the Prado *Landscape with three men*, Lord Derby's *Finding of Phocion* and the London National Gallery *Landscape with figures (Phocion)*.

² Cf. p. 87.

B. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

i. *Louis XIV, Court spectacles and Versailles*

Louis XIV was five years old when he became King in 1643. He was just under twenty-three when, in 1661, after Mazarin's death he undertook the government of France himself. He was forty-six when he married Mme de Maintenon after the death of the Queen. He was seventy-seven when he died in 1715.

His reign thus falls into three periods. The first, the period of his minority, was the Age of the Cardinals which produced the paintings just recorded. The second was the period of his young manhood from 1661-1684. The third was the period when he developed into the grim and imposing god-emperor worshipped with complicated ceremonial by a Court of ten thousand people at Versailles.

We tend to think of Louis XIV as the Pharaoh of the last period and to forget that he did not take up his residence at Versailles till 1682 when the really brilliant period of his reign was almost at an end. In all fields the dazzling period was from 1661-1684. The successful wars were over by 1678. Colbert who reorganised France for the King's glory died in 1683. From the age of twenty-three to the age of forty-six Louis XIV was the *Roi Soleil*. It was not till later that he became the terrible *Louis-le-Grand*.

As the *Roi Soleil* Louis XIV took his duties seriously and worked hard at the business of the State. But at the same time he was the centre of a splendid and not yet oppressively pompous Court. Though *Grand Amoureux*—(who has not read of his successive favourites, Mlle de la Vallière with her intriguing limp, Mme de Montespan, Mlle de Fontange?)—he was neither debauched nor vicious; *Grand Seigneur*, rejoicing in his eminence, he led the Court in a continuous series of brilliant entertainments. Devoted to music, dancing, the ballet, and the play, he was the patron of Molière and Lully, and he himself took part in masques and pageants for which he carefully rehearsed.

To the student of French painting the Court entertainments of the *Roi Soleil* are important because they were closely connected with the decorative taste of the time and because artists

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were employed both on the theatrical productions and on the fêtes and also in turn drew material from both.

In the theatrical performances the most elaborate scenic effects were produced by ingenious and complicated machinery; the sun and the moon rose or set shedding golden or silver radiance; and pagan gods and goddesses moved through the air on clouds as we see them in Baroque and eighteenth-century pictures.¹

Mazarin, who loved pageantry, and always moved abroad in state, had set a standard also in theatrical matters in 1647 when he produced Rossi's *Orfeo* at the cost of 500,000 ecus.² This took place at the Palais Royal; the mechanical effects which enabled the gods to sing in mid-air were the work of Mazarin's favourite machinist Torelli; and the scenery and costumes were entrusted to the painter Errard.³ Louis XIV had tried to surpass this with the *Ballet de la Nuit* produced in the Salle du Petit-Bourbon in 1653 when Torelli brought a whole choir down from heaven on a cloud, and a house burst into flames before the eyes of the astonished Court. In this ballet, which represented various episodes between sunset and sunrise, there were forty-three "entries," several of which were acted by the King himself, who had been coached by Lully. The new epoch opened with a still more ambitious performance—the *Hercule Amoureux* performed in the Tuileries in 1662. This lasted six hours and the King made several "entries" accompanied by Le Grand Condé. But the mechanical operations this time were on such a scale that the noise of the machines completely drowned the music and ruined the effect.

Such spectacles continued all through this period and they

¹ Theatrical performances have had great influence on painting from the time of the early Church performances to the Russian Ballet of our own day. The heavenly regions peopled by sacred figures on the top stage of the old ecclesiastical plays (cf. p. 15) became the vault of heaven peopled with the same figures in the vaults of Jesuit-Baroque churches. But meanwhile, in secular painting, the heavenly regions had become the abode of the gods and goddesses of antiquity and eventually Venus and Cupid replace the Virgin and Child as the normal denizens of the region above the clouds.

² I cannot give an equivalent in our present-day money. But the sum was considered grossly extravagant and attacked as such by Mazarin's enemies.

³ Cf. note, p. 39.

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culminated in the *Triomphe de l'Amour* given before the Court at St. Germain in 1681. In this the Dauphin and the Dauphine appeared and Mlle de Nantes, the seven-year-old daughter of the King by Mme de Montespan, performed a dance with castanets.¹

The first great outdoor fête of the *Roi Soleil*, which was known as *Le Carrousel*, was held in 1662 on the *place* which perpetuates its name. The King, Monsieur, Le Grand Condé and the Prince de Conti appeared respectively as a Roman Emperor, a King of Persia, an Emperor of the Turks and a King of the Americans; they wore fantastic jewelled costumes and plumed helmets and led the Court in processions which included as minor performers negroes, monkeys and bears. Other fêtes took place at Saint-Germain, at Fontainebleau, and at Versailles, then still the small château of Louis XIII. The first Versailles fête has also remained in history. It was given for Mlle de la Vallière in 1664 and was known as *Les Plaisirs de l'Ile enchantée*. It lasted nine days and the entertainments consisted of elaborate pageants, ballets and aquatic diversions with marine monsters and nymphs, and performances of Molière's *Tartufe* and *La Princesse d'Elide*.²

¹ *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* was given again later in the same year at the Opera in Paris when for the first time professional women dancers appeared in opera. The innovation was due to Lully.

² Detailed descriptions of this fête and others at Versailles can be found in John Palmer's "Molière." Here is one passage: "At nightfall the candles about the arena were lit. Lully entered with his troop of musicians. Then came the four seasons: spring, on a Spanish horse, Mademoiselle du Parc, in a green habit embroidered with silver and flowers; summer, on an elephant, richly decked, the Sieur du Parc; autumn, on a camel, the Sieur de la Thorillière; winter, on a bear, the Sieur de Béjart; finally, Pan, the Sieur de Molière himself, upon a moving mountain of rocks and trees, and with him Mademoiselle Béjart as Diana, offering to the Queen and her ladies in poetic numbers, the fruits and meats of a splendid collation, served in the lists. Lining the barrier leaned the nobility of France, in helmets and plumes, as when they had jousted that afternoon, assembled to see their sovereign feed." Here is another: "Molière had for his stage an entire garden complete with Satyrs, busts, fountains, terraces and a navigable waterway. . . . The King went to supper in a gigantic arbour that beggared all previous descriptions. Its decorations included an artificial mountain with Pegasus atop, from between whose feet fell a cascade which formed, after

LOUIS XIV, COURT SPECTACLES AND VERSAILLES

For this life of pageantry and *panache* the young King was now to devise a more imposing setting. He had visions of magnificent palaces where the triumphal chariots of the processions would be permanent thrones and the pageants would be painted on the walls. He began his building enterprises, which were to assume vast proportions, with the continuation of the Louvre and the rebuilding of the Gallery of Apollo.¹

The next stage was a vision of a palace at Versailles where all the business of the State and the pleasures of the Court might be permanently assembled round the person of the King.

Versailles was begun about 1670. The King examined every plan and every detail of the galleries and staircases, the sculpture and paintings, the gardens, the fountains, the grottoes and the lakes. Nothing was too large or too small for his attention. If the plan was complicated he listened with patience while it was explained. He delighted especially in the fountains. He would himself turn the taps in the engine-house and make no complaint of becoming wet. He was still, we must remember, in the early thirties, enthusiastic and young.

For the execution of the Versailles concept Louis XIV had the aid of Colbert who made the King's service in all branches the centre of focus for all the energies of France. All the artistic talent of the moment was enlisted for this vast undertaking. The architects Le Vau, Mansart, Robert de Cotte had armies of assistants; Le Nôtre had an army of gardeners to carry out his projects for the gardens and the park; and in the field of interior decoration there was an army of sculptors and painters who obeyed the instructions of the remarkable personality Charles Le Brun, whose career we must now consider.

much intermediate playfulness, four rivers, frequent with falls and losing themselves in small brooks upon lawns of moss. The nine Muses were naturally present with Apollo and his lyre."

¹ The apartments in the Louvre known to-day as the Long Gallery and Gallery of Apollo occupy the position of the second stories, added to the Little Gallery and the Long Gallery by Henri IV. The old structure was destroyed by fire in 1661 and the present Gallery of Apollo is the work carried out for Louis XIV.

CHARLES LE BRUN

ij. *Charles Le Brun*

BORN PARIS 1619. DIED PARIS 1690

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

Dulwich.	Gallery	Horatius Cocles defending Rome
Dulwich.	Gallery	Massacre of the Innocents
Paris.	Louvre	Holy Family (La Bénédiction)
Paris.	Louvre	The Crucifixion with the angels
Paris.	Louvre	Christ in the Desert served by angels
Paris.	Louvre	Alexander and the family of Darius
Paris.	Louvre	The Entry of Alexander into Babylon
Paris.	Louvre	The Elevation of the Cross
Paris.	Louvre	The Entry into Jerusalem
Paris.	Louvre	Meleager and Atalanta
Paris.	Louvre (Gallery of Apollo)	Neptune and Amphitrite, Evening, Night
Versailles.	Galerie des Glaces	Series of pictures symbolising the glory of Louis XIV
Versailles.	Salons de la Guerre et de la Paix	Ceilings
Florence.	Uffizi	Jephtha's daughter
Florence.	Uffizi	Self portrait
Berlin.	Kaiser-Friedrich Museum	The Banker Jabach and his family
Budapesth.	Museum	Apotheosis of Louis XIV
Vienna.	Museum	General with negro servant

Charles Le Brun was the artist whom Louis XIV and Colbert required at a particular juncture ; he served their purpose and he saw to it that they also served his. He had great facility in painting, and as a decorator he had organising abilities that approached genius. He was also an arrivist of the very first order.

He was the son of a sculptor who apprenticed him at the age of thirteen to François Perrier.¹ In Perrier's studio he made a drawing of Louis XIII on horseback which his father, who was working for the Chancellor Seguier in his *hôtel*, showed to his patron. The Chancellor, impressed by the boy's evidently precocious talent, arranged for Vouet, who was then decorating his library, to take him into his studio. Le Brun soon quarrelled

¹ Cf. note, p. 39.

CHARLES LE BRUN

with Vouet and, resolving on the first step in his arrivist career, he painted an allegory of the glory of Richelieu and presented it to the Cardinal himself. This bold move was rewarded; Richelieu commissioned him to paint other pictures and introduced him to the King. Before he was nineteen he was a *peintre du roi*.

Le Brun now realised that the next move must be the traditional journey to Italy. He knew how much of the respect paid to Poussin by the King and the Cardinal in 1640 was due to the reputation which Poussin had acquired in Rome. He took steps to meet Poussin and to express his homage. By 1642 when Poussin was returning to Rome Le Brun had arranged to accompany him, and he had persuaded the Chancellor Seguier to provide the money.

In Italy, two years later, he painted *Horatius Cocles defending Rome*, a deliberate attempt to rival Poussin. He painted this secretly, exhibited it anonymously, and scored a great success in the artistic world of Rome. He was now impatient to conquer Paris to which he returned in 1646.

As a *peintre du roi* of the last reign Le Brun had no difficulty in getting an appointment among the painters in the new King's establishment.¹ But a position in the ranks was intolerable to a man of his ambition; and he set to work to found a new organisation of artists—a Royal Academy—of which he determined to be the first Director.²

While engaged in negotiations and intrigues about the foundation of the Academy he obtained commissions to paint altar-pieces for churches and convents and a picture for Notre Dame. His success in the ecclesiastical paintings reached the ears of Anne of Austria, the Queen Regent, who sent for him and described a vision which had come to her in sleep. Le Brun transferred the vision to canvas and placed it in the Queen's oratory. We can see it to-day entitled *The Crucifixion with the Angels* in the Louvre.

At the same time he was doing decorative work in several

¹ He actually bought or obtained as a gift a post of *valet de chambre*. Cf. pp. 3, 83-85.

² For Le Brun's work as organiser and director of the Academy cf. pp. 83-85.

CHARLES LE BRUN

hôtels including the Hôtel Lambert where he found Le Sueur at work and quarrelled with him; and he was cultivating the friendship of the richest and most influential collectors and amateurs, and painting their portraits. The excellent group *The Banker Jabach and his family* (now in Berlin) was painted for the Cologne banker Jabach who was established in Paris in a magnificent *hôtel* with a great collection of pictures.¹

Le Brun's first great chance came when he attracted the attention of Nicolas Fouquet, the charming, cultivated and fabulously wealthy *Surintendant des Finances* who eventually engaged him at a handsome salary to direct the decorations at his Château de Vaux. Here Le Brun had an opportunity of organising decorative works on a large scale. He covered the *Surintendant's* apartments with allegorical compositions depicting the glory of the owner; he designed splendid fêtes with *tableaux vivants*, transformation scenes, and fireworks; and he founded Fouquet's private tapestry factory and supplied designs to the craftsmen.

At Vaux moreover he met Mazarin, and through Mazarin he was personally presented to Louis XIV for whom he painted the *Alexander and the family of Darius* now in the Louvre. A great deal of this picture was painted in the actual presence of the King and the assembled Court; the King was so excited at this *tour de force* that he gave him his portrait in miniature surrounded with diamonds as a reward.²

It was Le Brun who designed the celebrated fête at Vaux in September 1661 which was attended by Louis XIV and followed by the fall and disgrace of Fouquet who, the gossips said, had been rude to Mlle de la Vallière when she refused his advances. The fête took place six months after the death of Mazarin and the King's assumption of the government. Le Brun perceived that a new era was starting and that Colbert, whom he had also

¹ Le Brun's group was painted about 1660. In the background there is a mirror in which the painter at his easel is reflected. *Las Meninas*, where Velasquez made such ingenious use of mirrors, was painted in 1656. The curious should compare Le Brun's Jabach group with the group of *The Merchant Geeling and his Family* by Metsu, painted about the same time and also now in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum. Jabach's collection of pictures was afterwards acquired by Louis XIV (cf. note, p. 87).

² For the character of this picture cf. note, p. 71.



Versailles

CHARLES LE BRUN. Detail of Ceiling.



Paris. Louvre

CHARLES LE BRUN. Alexander entering Babylon.



Paris, Louvre

CHARLES LE BRUN. Illustrations to lecture; Human and animal Heads.

CHARLES LE BRUN

met at Vaux, was now the rising star. The day after Fouquet's arrest he made Mme Colbert the present of a drawing. Six months later he was *Premier peintre du roi*.

Le Brun now flung himself with enthusiasm into the service of Colbert and the King. For Colbert he decorated the Château de Sceaux and designed its fountains and gardens. For the King he designed the costumes in the Carrousel pageant and in other entertainments and painted designs for tapestries of which the gigantic *Alexander entering Babylon* (Pl. 37b), now in the Louvre, is an example. Then came work in the Louvre itself—the magnificent decoration of the *Galerie d'Apollon*; and finally came Versailles.

With the experience of Vaux behind him Le Brun approached the execution of the King's projects for Versailles with masterly assurance. He decorated what must have been the superb Grand Staircase (now only known to us in drawings), and the *Salons de la Guerre et de la Paix*, and the *Grande Galerie des Glaces* which survive. The paintings on the ceiling of the *Galerie des Glaces* represent his chief pictorial achievements. They consist of thirty compositions each symbolising a moment of glory in the King's career. Here we see Mercury proclaiming the King's assumption of government to the world at large, the King resolving to chastise the Dutch, the King as conqueror of the Franche-Comté and so forth: all pictorial equivalents of the King's "entries" in the ballets and pageants of the day.

At Versailles Le Brun was decorative dictator. The sculptor Coysevox, who was responsible for the gilt bronze trophies on coloured marbles and other sculpture in the *Galerie des Glaces*, worked under his direction. Le Nôtre's gardens follow Le Brun's plan for the gardens at Vaux. Le Brun designed fountains in the lakes, and the *Grotto of Tethys*, an apartment with fountains and a triple apse covered with shells and filled with sculptured groups of mythological figures, based on the *Grotto of Apollo* at Frascati. His activity and that of his assistants and collaborating artists was prodigious. But he also found time to work for the King's "hermitage," the Château de Marly, which developed to a miniature Versailles, and to direct and make designs for the Gobelins factory which produced not only tapestries but furniture, plate and objects of luxury of all kinds,

ROYAL ACADEMY OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE
including the celebrated silver furniture which filled the *Galerie des Glaces*.

Le Brun worked for twelve years at Versailles. But before his labours were completed the day of his dictatorship was done. Colbert, who, as *Surintendant des Bâtiments*, was his official chief, died in 1683. Le Brun had made many enemies in the time of his success and immediately his powerful supporter was removed they combined to dethrone him. The new *Surintendant des Bâtiments* was one of his enemies. The painter Mignard was another. The King himself had seen his projects carried out and he was no longer so concerned with the artists. He was moreover on the threshold of the Pharaoh period. The icy hand of Mme de Maintenon had fallen on his heart. In these new conditions Le Brun's authority in all quarters was gradually undermined. His orders were countermanded even at the Gobelins where hitherto he had personally engaged the whole personnel and directed every detail of the work. He met the situation with his customary astuteness. He observed that the King was becoming pious, that an orthodox religious movement was in the air. He therefore let it be known that he had drunk the cup of worldly success and found it worthless and that he had replaced it by the spiritual refreshments of religion. He owned, in addition to his houses in Paris and Versailles, a magnificent estate at Montmorency.¹ To this estate he now retired and began a series of pictures of the Life of Christ. The Louvre *Adoration of the Shepherds*, *Entry into Jerusalem*, *Christ Bearing the Cross*, *Elevation of the Cross*, all in the theatrical ecclesiastical style launched in France by his old master Vouet, represent this last phase of his activity. In 1690 he was working at a *Last Supper* when he died.

iii. *The Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture*

The *Académie royale de peinture et sculpture* was founded nominally in 1648; but for various reasons it did not function with regular authority till 1661 when Colbert became officially its patron. It owed its existence and its organisation to several causes: (a) the growing friction between various categories of

¹ Cf. p. 101.

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artists and the *Maîtrise*, (b) the personal ambition of Le Brun, (c) Colbert's conception of the function of the arts.

(a) Up to 1648 the French artists were all either (i) members of the old Guild of St. Luke, the *Maîtrise*, which employed the usual Guild system of apprenticeship culminating after the production of a diploma work (known as a *chef d'œuvre*) in the rank of Master, or (ii) artists attached to Royal or noble establishments or protected by some Royal licence, or (iii) "pirates" with no official status.

The rules of the *Maîtrise* were strict. Till the rank of Master was granted no student was allowed to exhibit or trade in his work; the *Maîtrise* had the right to prosecute in cases of infringement of its rules and it frequently did so.¹ It also had the right to prosecute foreign and other "pirates" and such artists had to sell their work in clandestine ways or at the St. Germain Fair as already noted.²

From very early times, as noted, there had been artists with the title of *valet de chambre* attached to the Lord Chamberlain's department in royal, princely and noble households.³ These appointments, in the seventeenth century, were granted or sold to painters as distinctions which carried with them exemption from prosecution by the *Maîtrise* and the right to food and lodging in the Royal household. The posts were obtained by favour, and holders often solicited their continuation for their sons.⁴

In addition to the artists who were *valets de chambre* in these households, there had always been others attached to the personal staffs of the Kings, Queens, Princes, and so forth. Such artists were given the title of *peintre du roi* or *peintre de la reine* or *peintre ordinaire*; they received an official licence or *brevet*, and they were also known for this reason as *brevetés* and *brevetaires*. They were all subject to the authority of the *Premier peintre du roi* of the moment, and were given annual salaries and lodgings in the Louvre or Tuileries.⁵

¹ Cf. p. 122.

² Cf. p. 47.

³ Cf. p. 3.

⁴ Thus Molière's father who was *valet-tapissier* to Louis XIII, concerned with the duty of looking after the King's furniture both in Paris and when he travelled, secured the reversion of the title for his son, who retained it without fulfilling the duties.

⁵ Cf. note, p. 40.

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There were also various other categories of artists exempted by licence from the authority of the *Maîtrise*. From the time of Henri IV onwards it had been possible to buy the title of *Maître* from the Crown which was accustomed to sell a certain number of such titles on the occasion of royal marriages, births or other festive occasions. The artists who held such titles were known as *Maîtres de lettres* as opposed to the masters elected by the *Maîtrise* who were known as *Maîtres de chefs d'œuvre*. There were also artists among the tradesmen who supplied the Court and followed it on travel; an artist of this kind whose position was only semi-official would describe himself presumably as *fournisseur du roi*—to indicate a position equivalent to a tradesman to-day with a "By Royal Appointment" sign above his door.

The friction between the artists who derived their status from the *Maîtrise* and those who derived it in one way or another from the Crown, had been growing ever since the time of Henri IV and it came to a head under Louis XIII. The *Maîtrise* complained that the granting and selling of the various types of licence had become an abuse and a scandal. The licensees charged the *Maîtrise* in the first place with a desire to exercise a tyrannical monopoly and in the second with degrading the status of the artist by making him subject to a system properly applicable only to tradesmen and artisans;¹ the first charge against the *Maîtrise* was an old grievance, the second represented the new conception of the artist as an independent member of a liberal profession which Claude and Poussin had already adopted in Rome.

(b) I have already referred to Le Brun's part in the foundation of the Academy. At a critical point in his career the *Maîtrise* had brought the quarrel to a head by applying to Mazarin for strengthened powers against the *brevetés*. As a *breveté* Le Brun was attacked, and he was too clever to remain content with a defensive action. He realised that negotiations for a new foundation would bring him into contact with influential quarters and that in a new organisation he might be able to take a leading place. He therefore intrigued for the new foundation. But the Academy was of no real service to him till Colbert also saw in it an instrument for his own purposes.

¹ Cf. note, p. 7.

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(c) Colbert's conception of the function of the arts was simple. "*C'est à l'aune des monuments qu'on mesure les rois*" he said and he might have added that in his faith the grandeur of a country was measured in foreign countries by the grandeur of its King. For Colbert the arts were a means of creating monuments to enhance the glory of Louis XIV and thereby of France. He believed in art as an instrument of national propaganda. At the same time he believed in organisation in this field as in every other. He supported the Academy with Le Brun at the head and brought it to life by becoming an active patron because he wanted a body of men who would organise art on the highest standards for the King's service under the control of a dictator responsible to himself. He had no doubts about the possibility of establishing fixed standards—and no doubt that an official organisation could produce artists capable of attaining to standards once efficiently laid down.¹

Le Brun took advantage of Colbert's simplicity in this respect to defeat his rivals. The Academy once effectively established he set to work to make things unpleasant for artists outside its ranks. The Academy ran its own art school. Le Brun obtained an ordinance which prevented the *Maîtrise* from running another and prescribed fines and imprisonment for any individual artist who did so.²

Another ordinance directed all the *brevetés* (*peintres du roi* and others) who had not joined the Academy of their own volition to join forthwith or forfeit their privilege of immunity of

¹ Colbert proceeded on the same principle in the other arts. He founded the Royal Academy of Music (which also controlled dancing), with Lully as dictator; the Royal Academy of Architecture, which he called on to invent a new Order to be known as the French Order; the Royal Academy of Science; and the Royal Academy of Inscriptions; and he contemplated an *Académie royale de spectacles* to centralise control and raise the standard of *carrousels, joutes, luttes, combats, défilés, chasses d'animaux sauvages et jeux d'artifice*, and a concession was actually granted to a blackguard, Henri Guichard, who planned to poison Lully because he could not get permission from him to accompany his spectacles with music. (The *Académie française* was an earlier foundation—the work of Richelieu.)

² This was directed against the engraver, Abraham Bosse (cf. pp. 47, 165), who had been unwise enough to make unfavourable criticisms of Le Brun's paintings. Le Brun had driven him from the ranks of the Academy and he had opened an art school to retrieve his fortunes.

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prosecution by the *Maîtrise*. This second ordinance was directed against Le Brun's rival the painter Mignard who was a *breveté* and who had refused to join the Academy in a position inferior to Le Brun.¹

But though Colbert allowed Le Brun to use him for his purposes he was also determined to use him and the Academy for his own. He had entrusted the Dictatorship of Art to the Academy; he now called upon the institution to define the art which it existed to control and propagate. The result was the celebrated series of Academy *Conférences*, or Discourses in which the Academicians endeavoured to formulate rules for the creation of Great Art.²

Le Brun's own *Conférences* were interesting and ambitious. In one he discussed human physiognomy in its relation to the physiognomy of animals; his illustrations to this lecture, some of which I reproduce (Pl. 38), are preserved in the Louvre. In another *Conférence*, taking the *Traité des passions de l'âme* by Descartes as a basis, he tried to work out rules for the correct delineations of all human passions and sentiments in art. Other *Conférenciers* discussed the relative importance of colour and drawing in pictures; and the principle that in art *le vraisemblable* is *le vrai* was laid down by Sebastian Bourdon.³

The Academicians who argued in favour of colour instanced Titian and Rubens; those who argued in favour of drawing instanced Raphael and Poussin; and as concrete examples of these and other masters they were able to point to the pictures

¹ Cf. pp. 88-91. Charles Errard (cf. note, p. 39) was another dangerous rival. Le Brun had him shipped off as First Director of the branch of the French Academy which Colbert had just founded in Rome. Vouet by this time was no longer a rival as he had died, as noted, in 1649.

² These *Conférences* were delivered at meetings of the Academy attended by the members, by students, sometimes by the public, and sometimes by Colbert himself. The lectures were followed by discussions and, if considered worthy by Colbert, they were subsequently published.

³ This curious artist (1616-1671) imitated alternately the Italians, Poussin, and the Dutch painter Pieter Van Laer, who was known as Bamboche. Van Laer's pictures, known as "Bambochades," were compositions of Roman ruins and buildings with peasants and genre episodes introduced. His pictures were imitated by Dutch and French artists for more than a hundred years (cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, pp. 172-175, and Pls. 69 and 70).

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in the splendid royal collection which was then accessible to all artists, students and visitors to the Louvre.¹

Eventually after prolonged discussions, dealing largely with the history-pictures of Poussin, the Academy decided that all the problems had been solved ; and it instructed Louis Testelin² to draw up synoptic tables of Rules for Great Art, and this *Table de Préceptes* was duly compiled and published in 1675.³

¹ The organisation and immense extension of the Royal collections was also Colbert's work. The collection inherited from previous sovereigns, which included the Italian pictures acquired by François I (cf. p. 26), had been increased by the acquisition of many works from the collection of Fouquet and that of Mazarin, which contained many of the pictures previously owned by Charles I. Colbert was responsible for these acquisitions and he continued to buy right and left on the King's behalf. He imported shiploads of antiques and Italian pictures from Rome, and he took advantage of every opportunity at home to buy others—often at very low prices fixed by Le Brun as expert. In 1671 the banker Jabach (cf. p. 80) was ruined, and Colbert acquired for the King a hundred of his pictures and five thousand drawings for a nominal sum. When the Comte de Brienne, another notable collector (cf. note, p. 68), was ruined, he stepped in again. In ten years he acquired six hundred and forty-seven of the pictures now in the Louvre. At the same time it was intimated that the King would welcome gifts of pictures, and many fine works were acquired in this way. Of the twenty-nine pictures by Poussin in the collection of Louis XIV three were gifts, five were acquired from the painter Herault, and twelve were won at tennis by the King from the young Duc de Richelieu, who had inherited them from his father and staked them on a game. In 1681 Colbert had the King's collection brought from the various palaces and assembled in the galleries of the Louvre arranged to receive them. They included sixteen pictures by Raphael, six by Correggio, ten ascribed to Leonardo, eight to Giorgione, twenty-three by Titian, eighteen by Veronese and fourteen by Van Dyck. In 1709 the collection numbered two thousand four hundred pictures available for study by the French artists—(the English National Gallery was founded with thirty-eight pictures in 1824).

² Cf. note, p. 39.

³ It was followed by another work by R. de Piles, who drew up tables allotting comparative marks to the great artists under various heads. Perfection was represented by twenty marks, and the tables included the following assessments :

	Composition	Drawing	Colour	Expression
Le Brun	16	16	8	16
Michelangelo	8	17	4	8
Rubens	18	13	17	17
Poussin	15	17	6	16
Titian	12	15	18	6
Rembrandt	15	6	17	12

PIERRE MIGNARD

The Authoritative Doctrine thus established was doubtless a source of satisfaction to Colbert. But it served no other purpose, and could serve no other, because fixed standards have no meaning in the case of the activity called art.

iv. *Pierre Mignard*

BORN TROYES 1610. DIED PARIS 1695

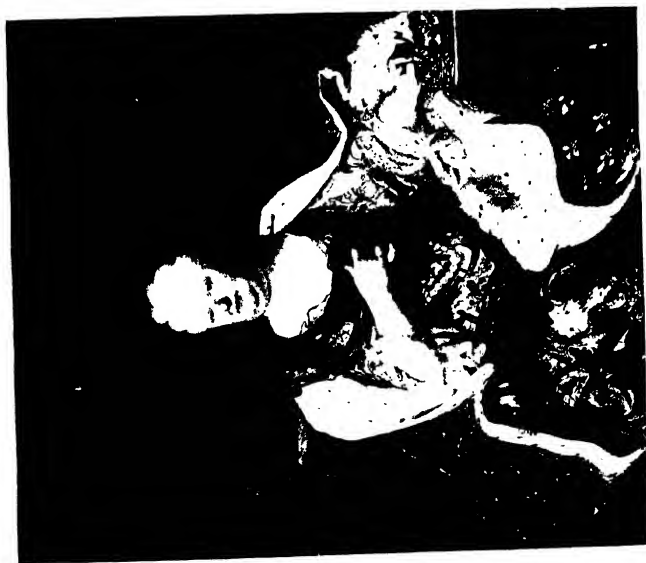
CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	Descartes
London.	National Gallery	La Marquise de Seignelay as Thetis with Achilles and Cupid
Paris.	Louvre	The Virgin with the grapes
Paris.	Louvre	Jesus and the Woman of Samaria
Paris.	Louvre	The Road to Calvary
Paris.	Louvre	The Grand Dauphin and his family
Paris.	Louvre	Mme de Maintenon
Paris.	Louvre	Self portrait
Paris.	Eglise du Val de Grâce	"Gloria" in the Vault
Paris.	Comédie-Française	Molière as César
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Molière
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Cardinal Mazarin
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Louis XIV
Versailles.	Museum	Marie de Bourbon as a child
Versailles.	Museum	Louis XIV crowned by Victory
Versailles.	Museum	Catherine Mignard, Comtesse de Feuquières, as Fame, holding a trumpet and a portrait of the artist
Nîmes.	Museum	Portrait of a Magistrate
Aix.	Museum	Mars and Venus
Avignon.	Museum	Mme de Montespan and the Duc de Maine
Elle.	Museum	Mme de Maintenon and her niece
Florence.	Uffizi	Mme de Sévigné

When Le Brun desired to sweep all the artists of consequence into the Royal Academy and thereby establish his authority above them, one important artist, Pierre Mignard, resisted him; and as already noted Le Brun obtained from Colbert an ordinance



Paris, Wildenstein Collection
QUENTIN LA TOUR, The Lawyer Laideguive.



London
HYACINTHE RIGAUD, Elizabeth Charlotte
 Dowager Duchess of Orleans.



Paris - Louvre

HYACINTHE RIGAUD. Presentation in the Temple



Berlin - Museum

NICOLAS LARGILLIÈRE.
L. B. Favetmier.



Paris - Louvre

HYACINTHE RIGAUD. Louis XIV at the
age of sixty-two.

PIERRE MIGNARD

by which Mignard as *breveté* was called upon to join. But Mignard flatly refused, and Colbert himself, with the Royal authority behind him, could not dissuade him from his decision.¹

Mignard and Le Brun had been enemies since the days when they were fellow-students in Vouet's atelier. Mignard was there in 1625. He went to Rome in 1635, and painted a series of Madonnas of the character of the Louvre *Virgin with the Grapes* which are known as *Mignardes*.

In Rome he also won a great reputation as a portrait painter. Three Popes, Urban VIII, Innocent X (who was subsequently painted by Velasquez) and Alexander VII sat to him; and Poussin in a letter dated 1648 refers to him as the best portrait painter at the time in Rome although he describes the heads in his paintings as "*froides, fardées, sans force ni vigueur.*"

The reputation of Mignard "*le Romain*," as he was then called, extended to France, and in 1656 Louis XIV recalled him to Paris. He arrived in France in the following year and stayed some months with his brother Nicolas Mignard (who was also a painter) at Avignon. There he met Molière, who had been performing at Béziers and Dijon, and there doubtless he painted the celebrated portrait *Molière as César* in "*La Mort de Pompée*" which belongs to the Comédie Française.²

Mignard left Avignon on receipt of an urgent summons from Mazarin to paint a portrait of the King to be sent to Madrid in connection with the negotiations for the hand of the Infanta Marie-Thérèse. Mignard painted the picture in a few days and won thereby the favour of Mazarin, the King, the Queen-Mother, and the new Queen herself. Henceforward, even during the triumph of Le Brun, he remained a favourite portrait painter in Court circles; and he was also commissioned by the Queen Mother to paint the vault in the Church of the Val-de-Grâce

¹ "*Monsieur*," Mignard replied to Colbert, "*le roi est le maître, et s'il m'ordonne de quitter le royaume je suis prêt à partir. Mais sachez bien qu'avec ces cinq doigts, il n'y pas de pays en Europe où je ne sois plus considéré, et où je ne puisse faire une plus grande fortune qu'en France.*"

² Molière was under forty at the time of this first meeting; and he is evidently still young in the portrait. In the equally famous portrait at Chantilly he appears older and rather weary, and the picture was probably painted in Paris about ten or fifteen years later.

PIERRE MIGNARD

which she had dedicated "*À Jésus naissant et à la Vierge Mère*" as a thankoffering for the birth of Louis XIV.¹

After the defiance of Le Brun in the matter of the Academy Mignard became the official leader of the artists of the old *Maîtrise*; he rallied all Le Brun's enemies and awaited the moment for his revenge.

He had, in fact, to wait some time, for while Colbert lived he could really do nothing, though in 1677 while Le Brun was working at Versailles, he scored a success with the decorations of Monsieur's Château de St. Cloud which the King inspected and admired. Mignard's day came when Louvois who succeeded Colbert as *Surintendant des Bâtiments* commissioned him to work at Versailles itself.²

¹ Cf. note, p. 55.

Mignard's painting is a circular composition of two hundred figures of saints fantastically foreshortened adoring the Trinity in a central circle of clouds and angels' heads; in an intermediate circle we see Anne of Austria herself in adoration. The vault is a supreme example of the Jesuit style of ecclesiastical decoration. As is well known it evoked a panegyric from Molière who was evidently inspired as much by friendship for Mignard and hostility to Le Brun as by the actual work, when in *La Gloire de Val de Grâce* he wrote:

*Toi qui, dans cette coupe à ton vaste génie
Comme un ample théâtre heureusement fournie
Es venu déployer les précieux trésors
Que le Tibre t'a vu ramasser sur ses bords,
Dis-nous, fameux Mignard, par qui te sont versées
Les charmantes beautés de tes nobles pensées . . .*

And addressing Colbert directly he wrote:

*Attache à tes travaux dont l'éclat te renomme
Les restes précieux des jours de ce grand homme.*

and he followed this with a direct attack on Le Brun:

*Les grands hommes, Colbert, sont mauvais courtisans
Peu faits à s'acquitter des devoirs complaisans.*

*Souffre que, dans leur art s'avancant chaque jour,
Par leurs ouvrages seuls ils te fassent leur cour.*

² There he painted decorations in the *Petits appartements* and in *La Petite Galerie*; and when the King asked Le Brun to visit these apartments and give his opinion on Mignard's work conditions had so altered that Le Brun thought it more prudent to forget the Royal command.

LOUIS XIV—THE LAST PHASE

When Le Brun died Mignard succeeded to all his honours. He became *Premier Peintre du Roi*, Director of the Academy and of the Gobelins factory, and at the age of eighty-five, just before he died, he undertook a commission for a painting in the vault of the Invalides.¹

Mignard was essentially a portrait painter. His *Portrait of a Magistrate* in the Nîmes Museum (dimly perceived though it is through the dirt which now covers the whole surface of the picture) is a work of acute observation, sensibility and great skill. His *Portrait of Mazarin* at Chantilly is also excellent; we can believe as we look on this effigy the tales of the Cardinal's avarice and of the hatreds which he inspired. Another admirable performance is the Louvre portrait of *Mme de Maintenon as Sainte Françoise* painted two years before the artist died for the *Maison d'Education* at St. Cyr where the former governess of Mme de Montespan's children was playing the fairy-godmother to a lot of miserable girls. The charming picture in the London National Gallery *La Marquise de Seignelay as Thetis with Achilles and Cupid* (Pl. 41c) doubtless represents the sitter as she appeared in some masque or theatrical diversion, probably with her children.²

v. Louis XIV—the Last Phase

The last twenty-five years of the reign of Louis XIV were a period of gloom. France was depressed by the failure of the later wars and exhausted by the sacrifice of over a million lives. The religious persecutions that followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) filled thinking people with horror, and

¹ A full-length portrait of Mignard, painted either completely by himself or by a pupil from a head by Mignard, and representing him seated in his studio, was presented by Mignard to the Academy when he became Director. The pose and the disposition of the accessories in the picture are deliberately the same as those in the portrait of Le Brun by Largillière which the Academy already had upon its walls. The pictures, which record the hatred and rivalry between the two men, can be seen in the Louvre.

² Mignard as a portrait painter must not be judged by the *Portrait of Descartes* in the London National Gallery, which merits Poussin's description of his portraits. The affectation and weakness which pervade this picture strike us even without recalling the superb Louvre portrait of the same sitter by Frans Hals.

LOUIS XIV—THE LAST PHASE

when the population was not suffering for religion it was suffering from brutal repressions of political revolts or the tyranny of the King's soldiers billeted in the country between campaigns.¹

The Court itself was equally gloomy. The wars, the entertainments and the building of the palaces had emptied the treasury. "*J'ai trop aimé les bâtiments*" Louis XIV confessed on his deathbed, and he might have added luxury and luxurious objects. But now all was changed; in 1690 the silver furniture and appointments from Versailles were sent to be melted into money at the Mint. Life at Versailles had become an onerous ritual without sparkle or gaiety. Molière and Lully were both dead. The King himself was a sick man; nothing of the old world remained to him but Lully's music which he still had performed at all times and seasons—during the *lever*, at dinner, in chapel, at supper, and while he went to bed.

Mme de Maintenon contributed to the prevailing gloom. She was an open enemy of the arts. She disapproved of the King's devotion to music. She countermanded the importation of the copy of a Titian because it had nude figures; she had the nudes in Gobelins tapestries decently draped or dressed. She also tried to abolish the opera and the ballet and succeeded in creating a new type of didactic performance an example of which, *Le Triomphe de la Raison sur l'Amour*, was played in 1696 to a dejected Court which remembered the glories of *Le Triomphe de l'Amour*.²

All this brought about a corresponding change in the field of painting. The Italian tradition fell out of favour; the pagan gods and goddesses were dethroned; religious subjects became *de rigueur*; and when Le Brun's pupil Charles de La Fosse (1636-1716) painted *The Finding of Moses* (Louvre) in the last year of the century the women are depicted not in classical

¹ This tyranny was not however new. Mme de Sévigné wrote in 1676: "*Voici qu'arrivent les troupes pour les quartiers d'hiver; ils s'en vont chez les paysans, les volent et les dépoillent. . . Ils mirent l'autre jour un petit enfant à la broche . . .*"

² Cf. p. 76. Louis XIV used to refer to Mme de Maintenon as "*Madame la Raison*." The title of the austere ballet produced to her taste was perhaps a piece of flattering symbolism in the old tradition.

LOUIS XIV—THE LAST PHASE

draperies but in complete dresses, and beneath them—for the first time in the art of the century—they are evidently wearing stays.

The monument of doctrine constructed on the basis of Poussin's history-pictures and the Italian masters by the Academy was soon challenged. It was now the fashion to look to the pictures of the Low Countries for inspiration. This happened partly because these painters were felt to be more in keeping with the new attitude to art, partly because after the death of Le Brun there was a reaction against the Academy as such, and partly because in the wars many French notables had visited the Low Countries and brought back Dutch and Flemish pictures for their own collections.¹

Many aspects of Dutch and Flemish art are reflected in the French pictures at the turn of the century. Jean Jouvenet (1644-1717) imitates Rubens in his *Descent from the Cross* and the Dutch painters of church interiors in his *High Altar of Notre Dame*; ² still life pictures of flowers and so forth in the Dutch and Flemish traditions begin to make their appearance; Charles Desportes (1661-1743) paints sporting dogs and hunting scenes in the manner of his Flemish master Nicasius and of Snyders, and is commissioned by the King to record the rare animals in the royal menagerie; and of the two leading portrait painters of the period Nicolas de Largillière and Hyacinthe Rigaud the first appears after an apprenticeship in Antwerp and the second is influenced not only by Rubens but also by Rembrandt, hitherto ignored in France and not represented in the King's collection.

¹ Le Grand Condé had begun this. He bought pictures in Holland, and brought Flemish and Dutch artists to Chantilly. The Duc de Richelieu replaced his Poussins (cf. note, p. 87) by a set of pictures by Rubens. In 1710 the Van Dycks of religious subjects in the royal collection were placed in the private apartments of the King.

² Both in the Louvre.

HYACINTHE RIGAUD

vi. *Hyacinthe Rigaud*

BORN PERPIGNAN 1659. DIED PARIS 1743

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

Philadelphia.	J. G. Johnson Collection	Self portrait
Paris.	Louvre	The Presentation of Jesus in the Temple
Paris.	Louvre	Louis XIV at the age of sixty-two ¹
Paris.	Louvre	Marie Scrra the artist's mother
Paris.	Louvre	J. F. P. de Créqui, Duc de Lesdiguières, as a child
Versailles.		Louis XV, aged five
Versailles.		Elizabeth Charlotte, Dowager Duchess of Orleans ²
Versailles.		Portrait of Mignard
Cherbourg.	Museum	The financier Montmartel and his wife
Aix.	Museum	Gaspard de Gueydan with bagpipe
Aix.	Museum	Mme de Gueydan
Perpignan.	Museum	Portrait of the artist
Perpignan.	Museum	Christ on the Cross
Perpignan.	Museum	Cardinal de Bouillon opening the sacred door in 1700
Munich.	Alte Pinakothek	Christian III, Duke of Zweibrücken
Dresden.	Gallery	King August III as Elector in armour with negro attendant
Vienna.	Liechtenstein Gallery	Prince Wenzel-Liechtenstein
Madrid.	Prado	Louis XIV in armour
Stockholm.	Gallery	Charles XII in armour

Hyacinthe-François-Honoré-Mathias-Pierre-Martyr-André-Jean Rigau Y Ros, known as Rigaud, was a magnificently competent painter of portraits. We owe to him the splendid portrait of *Louis XIV at the age of sixty-two* (Pl. 40c)—the portrait which has fixed our image of the Pharaoh of the last period, who has been aptly described as the greatest actor of royalty in history.

In Rigaud's works we can distinguish two manners. In the first the Baroque flamboyance of Rubens is adapted to express

¹ There is another version of this picture at Versailles.

² There are other versions of this picture in Brunswick and Buda Pesth.

HYACINTHE RIGAUD

the grandeur and pomposity of the notables of the period and those who desired to be portrayed as notables. *The Financier Montmartel and his wife* (Pl. 41b) at Cherbourg is an example of this manner; the portraits *Gaspard de Gueydan with bagpipe* and of his wife in the Aix Museum, and *Prince Wenzel Liechtenstein*, surrounded by a veritable tornado of curtains, in the Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna, are others.

Later, as noted above, Rigaud set out to emulate Rembrandt, and we see the influence of the Dutch master in the Louvre picture *J. F. P. de Créqui as a child*, in the celebrated *Elizabeth Charlotte Dowager Duchess of Orleans* (Pl. 39a), and in the illumination of the great portrait of The King. This influence is seen above all in the Louvre *Presentation in the Temple* (Pl. 40a) which Rigaud painted in the year of his death and left in his will to Louis XIV.¹

Rigaud's production was very large. Like Reynolds, he kept careful records of his commissions and from these we learn that he painted from thirty to forty portraits every year.²

¹ Rigaud tried, of course, to improve on Rembrandt, especially in the portraits, and to adapt Rembrandt's technical procedures to what doubtless seemed to him more distinguished and worthy ends. Cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, pp. 168-169 and Pls. 33, 65, 66 and 68, where I have compared attempts to improve on Rembrandt made by the Dutch painter, Van der Werff (1659-1722) with Rembrandt's own works. For the influence of Rembrandt on Nattier, cf. Pl. 56b and p. 127.

In this connection it must be remembered that many Dutch painters towards the end of the century borrowed in their turn from French art. Van der Werff himself was influenced by Claude and Poussin, and Gerard de Lairese was influenced by Poussin and Le Brun.

² He was the son of a tailor and great-nephew of a painter. After working for some years in Perpignan, Montpellier and Lyon he arrived in Paris in 1681. He was launched on his career in 1688 when he painted a successful portrait of Monsieur. He did not go to Italy—a fact in itself significant of the change in taste.

NICOLAS DE LARGILLIÈRE

vij. *Nicolas de Largillière*

BORN PARIS 1656.

DIED PARIS 1746

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	Princess Ragotsky with a negro attendant
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Portraits of Baron and Baroness de Prangnis
Paris.	Louvre	The Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs of Paris (Sketch)
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait of Le Brun
Paris.	Louvre	The President de Laage
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait of the artist with his wife and daughter
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	The actress Mlle Duclos
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Marie de Laubespine (?)
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	A gentleman of the house of Condé
Aix-en-Provence.	Museum	Mme de Gueydan as a Naiad
Amiens.	Museum	The Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs of Paris (Sketch)
Amiens.	Museum	Still life
Orleans.	Museum	Still life
Berlin.	Kaiser-Friedrich Museum	Jean Forest
Brunswick.	Museum	J. B. Tavernier
Brunswick.	Museum	Count K. D. von Dehn
Florence.	Uffizi	James Stuart the Old Pretender, and his sister, Louisa, as children

Largillière is a painter's painter. He captured the secrets of the sheen and glitter of Van Dyck's painting and the lustre of Lely's and transformed them to something lighter and more engaging still. In Rigaud's pictures, even when the disposition of the drapery is most flamboyant, the touch is rather heavy and the paint substantial; but Largillière spread the colour as a thin fluid and while it was still wet he brought it to life with incisive touches of shadow and with little spots of glittering high light. We see his method to perfection in the Amiens sketch chronicled in my list above.¹

¹ The Amiens painting, like the painting in the Louvre, is a sketch for the official group of the *Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs of Paris* who

NICOLAS DE LARGILLIÈRE

Largillière was born in Paris but he was brought up in Antwerp where his father had affairs. There he was apprenticed to a Flemish landscape and genre painter and employed on painting flowers, game and fish in his master's works. At the age of eighteen he went to England where he became an assistant to Lely and painted the drapery in many of his pictures. He returned to Paris about six years later and remained there—(except for a flying visit to England to paint James II and his Queen)—till his death at the age of eighty-seven in the middle of the reign of Louis XV.¹

In two portraits at Chantilly, the so-called *Mme de Laubespine* and *Gentleman of the House of Condé*, the light touch of Largillière's sketches has been to some extent sacrificed, as in many of his finished pictures, to completeness of representation. In the male portrait—where the wig is blonde, the coat red and the drapery orange—we see the influence of Van Dyck both in the composition and the colour. In the other, a later work, we have the white powdered face, with blue shadows, the rouged cheeks, the brilliant eyes and brows, and the powdered hair which we associate with portraits of the age of Louis XV.

The Brunswick full length *J. B. Tavernier* (Pl. 40b), in a Persian robe, is among his finest portraits. Interest also attaches to his still life paintings of game, fruit and so forth which are preserved

gave a banquet to Louis XIV in 1687, to celebrate his recovery from illness. The commission was one of several which Largillière received from the city dignitaries, who played a considerable rôle when Paris began to create its own life in spite of the absence of the King and the Court at Versailles. During the Versailles period the King only came to Paris to attend the inauguration of his statues in the *Place des Conquêtes* (*Place Vendôme*) and the *Place des Victoires*, which were built to receive them. The *Porte St. Denis* and the *Porte St. Martin* were built to celebrate his victories in Germany and Holland at a time when he was not yet established at Versailles. Largillière's paintings of Parisian civic dignitaries have all disappeared. One was burned, some are lost and some were destroyed in the Revolution. They represent the equivalents in French art of the numerous civic groups by the Dutch painters of the seventeenth century. Cf. p. 168.

¹ Largillière amassed a considerable fortune and lost most of it in 1720 in the crash of the East and West India Companies, floated in Paris by the Scottish banker, John Law, who had founded the *Banque royale* in 1716, and introduced Bills of Exchange into France.

NICOLAS DE LARGILLIÈRE

in the French provincial museums noted in my list above. For here we see Largillière as the forerunner of the great French still life painter Jean-Baptiste Chardin whom he was subsequently to befriend.¹

Largillière's reputation has suffered from the numerous pictures by his followers which are frequently ascribed to him. But these School pictures have their own qualities. The *Duchesse d'Orleans* (Pl. 41a), at Versailles, is typical of the more attractive of such works.

¹ Cf. p. 135.



Versailles

SCHOOL OF LARGILLIÈRE. Duchesse d'Orléans.



Cherbourg, Museum

HYACINTHE RIGAUD. The Financier Montmartel and his wife.



London, National Gallery

PIERRE MIGNARD. La Marquise de Seignelay as Thetis with Achilles and Cupid.



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PART FOUR

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A. ANTOINE WATTEAU

i. *Watteau's Friends*

Paris, as a city with a distinctive spirit, was born at the beginning of the eighteenth century. When the second decade opened, the Versailles Court, vicious and brutal beneath its outward pomp and gloom, was performing its last ceremonies. But Paris was preparing for the moment of release. There new values and new standards of luxury and life were in course of evolution, and a new generation of art patrons was beginning to appear.

The new patrons, for the most part self-made men, or the sons of such men, were an important factor in the new Parisian civilisation; genuine lovers of the arts, they stood both for the amenities and the decencies of wealthy bourgeois life; and they were unaffected by the wild pursuit of pleasure and the hysterical speculations that broke out on the advent of the Regency.

The names of several of these men live in history as the friends and patrons of Watteau.

The first name is that of Pierre Crozat, who was known as Crozat *le curieux* (i.e. "the collector"), and also as Crozat *le pauvre*, to distinguish him from his still wealthier brother, Antoine Crozat, who had the monopoly of trade with Louisiana and was known as Crozat *le riche*. Pierre Crozat had been at first associated with his brother in business and finance but at the age of forty-three he retired and bought himself the office of *Trésorier de France*. He was fifty when Watteau was brought to his notice, and he then owned in Paris a magnificent *hôtel*, which the architect Cartaud had taken ten years to build, and the Montmorency estate which had formerly belonged to Le Brun and was later to shelter Jean-Jacques Rousseau.¹

¹ In Rousseau's day the Montmorency park and château belonged to the Duc de Luxembourg. Crozat had improved the gardens and extended the château; he had also built the *petit château*, the work of Gilles-Marie Oppenordt (cf. p. 104 and note p. 110). Rousseau was lodged by the Duke in this *petit château* and there "*dans une continuelle extase*" at the beauty of his surroundings he worked at "*Emile*."

WATTEAU'S FRIENDS

In his town mansion Crozat had an astonishing array of artistic treasures. He had acquired what remained of Jabach's collection of pictures after Colbert had made his selection for Louis XIV, and he had also acquired pictures which had belonged to Vasari. He had an immense collection of drawings by Italian, Dutch and Flemish masters, some antique sculpture, and fourteen hundred engraved gems preserved in cabinets made at the Gobelins by Boulle. He continued to add to his collections all his life; agents bought for him in London, Antwerp and Rome, and he himself travelled to inspect and acquire pictures and collections of drawings; when he died he had five hundred pictures and nineteen thousand drawings. Crozat was also an amateur of music, and his musical parties were attended by the most cultivated elements in the new Parisian society. Philippe d'Orléans, the Regent, was among his friends, and at Crozat's house he forgot his wine and his women and his exhausting orgies and revealed his passionate interest in works of art which was equal to Crozat's own.¹

The name of Jean de Jullienne is also closely associated with that of Watteau. Jullienne was an amateur painter, engraver and musician. At the same time he was the managing director of a flourishing factory attached to the Gobelins to which he supplied textiles dyed an orange-scarlet colour which was a secret and monopoly of the firm. Later he became de Jullienne, and the owner of the business which had belonged to his uncle.

¹ In 1715 Crozat went to Italy to acquire some pictures and drawings and he was commissioned by Philippe d'Orléans to buy other works for him. The Orleans collection in the Palais Royal included Italian, Dutch, Flemish and French works from the collections of Christina of Sweden (who had some pictures which had belonged to Charles I of England), of Richelieu, of the Marquis de Seignelay (Colbert's son), and of M. de Chantelou, who had one set of *The Sacraments* by Poussin. In 1723, among his four hundred and ninety pictures, nearly all of the first importance, he had six works by Raphael, as many by Correggio, and twenty-five by Titian. His son mutilated a Correggio on the plea of piety; his grandson kept the whole collection in storage; then Philippe Egalité to raise money for political propaganda in 1792 sold the whole collection which came to England. The Dutch and Flemish sections passed to various collections; the French and Italian sections were acquired by the Duke of Bridgewater and most of the pictures can still be seen in London at Bridgewater House.



London, Soane Museum

ANTOINE WATTEAU. L'Accordée de Village.



Glasgow, Art Gallery

ANTOINE WATTEAU. Détachement faisant aile.



Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

ANTOINE WATTEAU, *L'Amour au théâtre français* (detail).



Private Collection, London, Robert Kneller, notes of MR. W. in salotto, Paris (cf. No. 17)

ANTOINE WATTEAU, *Le Mezzetin*.



Paris, Louvre

ANTOINE WATTEAU, *La Finette*.

WATTEAU'S FRIENDS

Jullienne began collecting pictures from an early age. He had a marked preference for works of the Dutch and Flemish Schools and owned paintings by Rembrandt, Terborch, Metz, Wouwer-mans and Rubens, as well as some by Correggio, Veronese and Claude. He was twenty-one when he met Watteau, who was then the same age.

Another friend and patron, the Comte de Caylus, was a man of rather different calibre. He was a nobleman by birth and a soldier by profession. At the age of fifteen he fought at Malplaquet. When peace came he retired from the army and became an amateur painter and engraver. He engraved a number of Watteau's pictures, and delivered a *Conference* at the Academy, which is a main authority for the details of the artist's life and throws valuable sidelights on his temperament and character. Like Jullienne he was about Watteau's own age when he made his acquaintance.

The help and patronage of these wealthy amateurs was reinforced by the interest of certain professional men of letters and certain artists. The names of Pierre-Jean Mariette (publisher, art historian, engraver, collector, and an intimate in Crozat's circle), of Antoine de la Roque (who wrote operas and later edited the *Mercur de France*), of Nicolas Henin (*Intendant ordonnateur* of the King's Buildings and gardens, amateur artist and engraver (who drew from the model with de Caylus and Watteau in rooms taken by de Caylus))—must be mentioned in the first category; those of La Fosse, Oppenordt, Vleughels and probably of Ch.-Antoine Coypel¹ and Largillière must be mentioned in the second. Finally, there were two art dealers—Sirois and his son-in-law Gersaint—whose names have been immortalised through their association with the artist.

It is important for us to-day to realise Watteau's debt to these friends and patrons, because he was the first original French artist who worked in Paris in a situation comparable with that of the original artist in the modern world to-day. Claude and Poussin, as noted, had achieved a position of artistic independence. They had done this without help from the general public which knew nothing about them, and they had been able to do it because they lived in Rome, to which the world's richest

¹ Cf. note, p. 142.

WATTEAU'S LIFE

dilettanti then habitually looked when they wanted to buy pictures. Watteau had to capture his artistic independence in Paris itself; and he too received no help from the general public which knew nothing of his existence and nothing of his work till, after his death, it was engraved at Jullienne's expense.¹

Watteau's contribution to the world's art was made possible by the men I have described. They discovered him, they rescued him from hack work, and they supported him with money.²

ii. *Watteau's Life*

Antoine Watteau was born in Valenciennes in 1684. He was the son of a Flemish artisan.³ He was poor and obscure till the age of twenty-five. He died of consumption at the age of thirty-seven.

He arrived in Paris at the age of eighteen. Before that he had worked as an apprentice in the studio of a local artist. In Paris he earned his living for a time by painting little pictures of saints for a dealer who employed a number of hack painters and sold their productions to peasants for small sums. From this hack-labour he escaped to the studio of a Flemish artist, Claude Gillot, with whom he remained for five years. When he left Gillot he attached himself to another artist, Claude Audran, who was Keeper of the Luxembourg Palace where he had charge of the pictures which Rubens had painted for Marie de' Medicis. While with Audran Watteau studied the Rubens' pictures and made drawings from them; he also drew in the Luxembourg park, and he competed unsuccessfully for the Prix de Rome.⁴ Then he met the art dealer Sirois who bought some of his easel pictures, installed him in his house, and introduced him to Crozat who at once recognised his talents and commissioned him to paint four panels in his dining-room.

In the Hôtel Crozat Watteau found Oppenordt⁵ who was acting as Crozat's domestic architect and decorator, and Charles de La Fosse,⁶ who had painted the ceiling of the main gallery

¹ Cf. note, p. 108.

² But cf. pp. 120, 121.

³ His father was a *maître couvreur et charpentier* (master tile and slate worker and carpenter).

⁴ Cf. p. 141.

⁵ Cf. notes, pp. 101 and 110.

⁶ Cf. p. 92.



Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

ANTOINE WATTEAU, *La Perspective*.



Chantilly, Musée Condé

ANTOINE WATTEAU, *L'Amante inquiète*.



Paris, Louvre

ANTOINE WATTEAU, *Le faux pas*.



Berlin, Charlottenburg-Galerie

ANTOINE WATTEAU, *L'Amour paisible*.



Venice, Frick

GIORGIONE, *Concert Champêtre*.

WATTEAU'S LIFE

of the *hôtel* and was installed there (with his wife and niece), as curator of Crozat's collections. Through the influence of La Fosse he was introduced to the Academy which elected him *agrée* in 1712.¹

Watteau now established himself as an independent artist with a youth named Jean-François Pater² from Valenciennes as his pupil and assistant; and in 1715 Jullienne appeared and began to buy his pictures.

In 1716 La Fosse died and Watteau accepted an invitation from Crozat to occupy the apartment thus vacated in his house. On this second visit to the Hôtel Crozat, Watteau lived in conditions of luxury; he met all the influential dilettanti of the time, and he was able to examine Crozat's great collections at his leisure. From the *hôtel*, moreover, he could escape when he pleased to Montmorency, and draw and wander in the park.

But Watteau only accepted Crozat's hospitality for about a year. In 1717 we find him again in the house of Sirois painting his *tableau de reception* for the Academy—the Louvre *Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère*. A year later he left Sirois and went to live with the artist Nicolas Vleughels who had a house in the Saint Victor quarter; the air there, it was hoped, would be beneficial to his health.

In the autumn of 1719 he went to London, probably to consult a distinguished physician, Dr. Richard Mead. He remained in London for about nine months and had great success with his pictures. But during this period there occurred in Paris the Law crash³ which affected his financial position, and he was only saved from disaster by Jullienne who was looking after his affairs in his absence.⁴

¹ This was an important service to Watteau because till then, as he never attempted to graduate in the *Maîtrise*, he was still a "pirate" liable to prosecution if the *Maîtrise* considered it worth while (cf. pp. 83 and 122). The old category of *peintres du roi* was now restricted to the Academy. As *agrée* Watteau had to present a *tableau de reception* to the Academy before he could become *Academicien* and *peintre du roi*. He painted this picture five years later.

² Cf. p. 122.

³ Cf. note, p. 97.

⁴ Watteau's drawing (preserved in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford) and engraved by Caylus with the title of *Le Naufrage* is an allegorical repre-

WATTEAU'S ŒUVRE

In the summer of 1720 he returned to Paris and lodged with the art dealer Gersaint, who had married the daughter of his old friend Sirois; for this host he painted the celebrated shop-sign *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (Pl 50), and he renewed relations with Jullienne and with Crozat who was giving parties "to meet" Mme Rosalba Carriera, the Venetian pastellist.¹

In the following year he left Paris for a country house which had been lent him at Nogent-sur-Marne. There he was visited by Gersaint, by Jullienne, and other friends; there he summoned his old pupil, Jean-François Pater, with whom he had lost touch in recent years, that he might give him some final instruction and advice; and there, after destroying some of his pictures and drawings which he considered erotic, and painting a *Christ on the Cross* as a present for the local *curé*, on 12th July, 1721, he died.

111. Watteau's Œuvre

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	Buckingham Palace	La Surprise
London.	National Gallery	The Guitar Player (<i>La Gamme d'Amour</i>)
London.	Wallace Collection	The Music Lesson (<i>Pour nous prouver que cette belle</i>)
London.	Wallace Collection	Gilles and his Family (<i>Sous un habit de Mezzetin</i>)
London.	Wallace Collection	Harlequin and Colombine (<i>Voulez vous triompher des belles</i>)
London.	Wallace Collection	The Champs Élysées
London.	Wallace Collection	Fête in a Park (<i>Les Amusements Champêtres</i>)
London.	Wallace Collection	The Music Party (<i>Les Charmes de la vie</i>)
London.	Wallace Collection	The Halt during the Chase (<i>Le Rendez-vous de Chasse</i>)
London.	Wallace Collection	La Toilette
London.	Soane Museum	The Marriage Contract (<i>L'Accordée de Village</i>)
Dulwich.	Gallery	The Ball (<i>Plaisirs du Bal</i>)
Althorpe.	Lord Spencer Collection	Comédiens Italiens

sensation of Watteau rescued from this financial disaster by Jullienne. M. David Weill has a painting known as *Le Rêve de Watteau* in which we again see Watteau himself—this time as an artist tortured by a vision of all the characters portrayed in his *œuvre*.

¹ Cf. p. 129.

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Edinburgh.	National Gallery of Fêtes Vénitienes Scotland	
Glasgow.	Art Gallery	The Encampment (Détachement faisant alte)
Glasgow.	Art Gallery	Breaking up the Camp (Depart de troupe)
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	La Perspective
New York.	Bache Collection	Comédiens français ¹ (Five figures)
Paris.	Louvre	L'embarquement pour l'île de Cythère
Paris.	Louvre	Gilles
Paris.	Louvre	L'Indifférent and La Finette (Pendants)
Paris.	Louvre	Jupiter et Antiope
Paris.	Louvre	Pastorale (Le Berger Content)
Paris.	Louvre	Assemblée dans un parc
Paris.	Louvre	L'Automne
Paris.	Louvre	Le Faux Pas
Paris.	Baron Edmond de Rothschild Collection	Breaking up the Camp (Depart de troupe)
Paris.	Baron Edmond de Rothschild Collection	La Troupe Italienne (Les habits sont Italiens)
Paris.	Wildenstein Collection	Comédiens Italiens
Paris.	M. David Weill Collection	Le rêve de l'artiste
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	L'Armour desarmé
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Le Mezzetin
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	L'Amante inquiète
Berlin.	Kaiser-Friedrich Museum	L'Amour au theatre Italien
Berlin.	Kaiser-Friedrich Museum	L'Amour au theatre français
Berlin.	Kaiser-Friedrich Museum	Assemblée galante
		Le Déjeuner en plein air ²

¹ When not otherwise described, pictures which were the property of the former reigning Prussian house are now State property as the result of the agreement reached between the Prussian State and the ex-Kaiser in 1926.

This picture was formerly the property of the former reigning Prussian House which retained it under the agreement. Sir Joseph Duveen acquired it about 1928.

² This picture is no longer in Berlin. I have been given to understand that it now belongs to Herr Reinhardt of Winterthur (Switzerland).

WATTEAU'S ŒUVRE

		Leçon d'Amour ¹ L'Enseigne de Gersaint
Berlin.	Charlottenburg Castle	
Berlin.	Castle Museum	L'embarquement pour l'île de Cythère La Danse (Iris c'est de bonheur) ²
Berlin.	Charlottenburg Castle	Les Bergers
Berlin.	Charlottenburg Castle	L'Amour Paisible
Potsdam.	Schloss Sans-Souci	La Mariée de Village
Potsdam.	Schloss Sans-Souci	Recreation Italienne
Dresden.	Museum	Réunion Champêtre
Dresden.	Museum	Plaisirs d'Amour
Madrid.	Prado	L'Accordée de Village Le Mezzetin ³

Watteau's *œuvre* to-day consists of two hundred or more pictures, a large number of drawings, and ten etchings. We know that all the surviving pictures were painted in the last twelve years of his life, but their detailed chronology is largely a matter of conjecture.⁴

¹ This picture remained the property of the former reigning Prussian house under the agreement.

² This picture remained the property of the former reigning Prussian house under the agreement.

³ Cf. caption to Pl. 44b.

⁴ Immediately after Watteau's death Jullienne began to compile a record of his work in the form of engravings made, at his own expense, from Watteau's pictures and drawings. This monumental work known as the *Recueil Jullienne* consists of more than five hundred engravings, and it records many pictures and decorations which have now disappeared. But it provides no information about the dates of the painting of the individual pictures. It was followed by the *Catalogue raisonné* of Watteau's works, published in 1775 by Edmond de Goncourt, who was responsible for the rediscovery of Watteau after a period of neglect extending for nearly a hundred years. In 1912 Dr. H. Zimmermann published an illustrated photographic record of Watteau's paintings in the *Klassiker der Kunst* series and attempted a chronological arrangement. Dr. Zimmermann restricted himself to pictures still preserved but even so his list is incomplete and many pictures in private collections are omitted because he could not obtain photographs or for other reasons. In 1922 MM. Dacier and Vuaflart published a new edition of the *Recueil Jullienne* and added a catalogue consisting of Parts III and IV of that work and other engravings after paintings by Watteau. MM. Dacier and Vuaflart's work is illustrated by three hundred and sixteen plates. In 1928 M. Louis Réau compiled another catalogue of two hundred and seventy-nine pictures (including many which



Pierrot

ANTOINE WATTEAU
Gilles (Italian Comedians)

WATTEAU'S ŒUVRE

In the years of his apprenticeship to Gillot, Watteau worked as an assistant in the ordinary way. In Gillot's studio he learned to design arabesque decorations and to make sketches of stage performances and genre sketches of daily life, and there he also profited by the originality and versatility of his master.¹

Gillot's chief service to Watteau was the directing of his attention to the Italian Comedy as performed by French actors in the Parisian Fairs. Gillot frequented these Fairs and doubtless took Watteau with him.²

have disappeared), seventy-two selected drawings, and ten engravings; this was published in M. Louis Dimier's *Les Peintres français du XVIII^{ème} Siècle*. I have before me as I write the catalogues of Dr. Zimmermann, MM. Dacier and Vuafart, and M. Réau, and the catalogue of engravings after Watteau's pictures and drawings by Edmond and Jules de Goncourt printed at the end of their essay on Watteau in *L'Art du XVIII^{ème} Siècle*. The chronology suggested in my comments takes account of the labours of these scholars and represents my view of the general development of Watteau's art as I understand it from these sources and from the study of the pictures.

¹ Claude Gillot (1675-1722) was a most interesting artist whose contributions to Watteau's art have only recently been appreciated. An exhaustive study by M. Emile Dacier of his surviving works can be found in M. Dimier's book referred to in the note above.

² In the Italian Comedy the conventional figures—Harlequin, Scapin, Pierrot, Pantalon, Mezzetin, Scaramouche, Colombine, the Doctor—indulged in much impromptu topical dialogue. In one of their performances in 1697 called *La fausse prude* references to Mme de Maintenon were made or implied and Louis XIV banished all Italian players in order that "*le sexe*" which had applauded "*des indécentes qui étoient comme des insultes solennelles faites à sa pudeur*" might henceforward be protected. The Italian Comedians were recalled by the Regent in 1716. The Franco-Italian character of the performances at the Parisian Fairs in the interval is recorded in the legend under Simonneau's engraving (begun by Watteau himself) of Watteau's *La Troupe Italienne* belonging to Baron Edmond de Rothschild. There we read:

*" Les habits sont Italiens
Les airs françois, et je paris
Que dans ces vrais comediens
Git une aimable tromperie
Et qu' Italiens et françois
Riant de l'humaine folie
Ils se moquent tout à la fois
De la france et de l'italie."*

Watteau's picture was, in fact, a portrait troupe (cf. p. 111).

WATTEAU'S ŒUVRE

In Gillot's studio Watteau had learned "grotesque" decoration and in his next employment he assisted Audran, who specialised in such work. No "grotesques" by Watteau survive, but we know from the *Recueil Jullienne* that he executed a number of decorative commissions in this style and also a series of Chinese "arabesques" for the Château de la Muette where the Regent's daughter, the Duchesse de Berry, held her drunken revels from 1716 till her death three years later.¹

Watteau's first easel pictures were also painted while he was with Audran or soon after. They are genre and picturesque-genre subjects in the Dutch-Flemish tradition of *cortegaardies* or camp scenes, in the manner of Palamedes Stevens, Wouwermans and so forth.² The Glasgow *Détachement faisant alte* (Pl. 43b) is an example of this style which was soon developed, through study of other Low-Country painters, to a personal type of picturesque-genre seen in *L'Accordée de Village* (Pl. 43a) in the Soane Museum, London.

¹ The grotesque style of decoration goes back to Hellenistic painting. It then appears in Nero's *Domus Aurea* and the Christian catacombs. When antique decorations of this kind were unearthed in the Renaissance they were called *grotteschi* because the buildings in which they were found were known as grottoes; the thrones and canopies of Apollos and Aphrodites then became the thrones and canopies of Madonnas and saints. In the hands of Gillot and of Audran, the thrones and canopies once more receive their original inhabitants. In Watteau's "grotesques" they receive pastoral figures including young women in swings, or Italian Comedians; in some cases the ornamental framework is adorned with birds or monkeys, and the framework itself sometimes includes the shell or *rocaille* motives which we associate with the Louis XV style.

This *rocaille* motive seems to have first appeared in decoration in the work of Oppenordt who, as noted, was employed in the Hôtel Crozat when Watteau went there to paint the dining-room panels.

The taste for *chinoiserie* in French decoration had been introduced by Mazarin who had a collection of Chinese lacquer work and porcelain; some French lacquer work in the Chinese style was done at Versailles as early as 1655 and there were three manufactories devoted to it in Paris at the end of the seventeenth century. When Watteau designed the "arabesques" for La Muette he had before him a collection of Chinese drawings which had been sent to Paris by some Jesuit missionaries and had greatly intrigued the amateurs who saw them. There exists a drawing by Watteau of a Chinaman from life (Albertina, Vienna).

² Cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, pp. 170-179, 190-209, and Pls. 69-74, 80-83, and 100.

WATTEAU'S ŒUVRE

This Low-Country basis to Watteau's art is readily comprehensible. For in the first place he was in fact a Fleming; his parents were Flemish (as Valenciennes became French only six years before he was born), and his first instructors, including Gillot himself, were also Flemish. Moreover, as a "pirate" Flemish artist, not attached to the Parisian *Maîtrise*, and not yet attached to the Academy, he naturally began by consorting with Flemish artists in Paris and thus became familiar with the Franco-Low-Country production for the popular market.¹

In the second place, it must be remembered, there was now a vogue for the Low-Country styles among Parisian collectors and that the dealer Sirois, when he bought Watteau's early pictures and encouraged him to paint more in the same manner, was catering for this taste. *L'Accordée de Village* (Pl. 43a) was actually one of the first of his pictures bought by Jullienne, who, as noted, especially favoured the Low-Country schools.

In the next type of pictures—the Berlin *L'Amour au Théâtre français* (Pl. 44a) and the Edinburgh *Fêtes Vénitienes*—we get keen individual characterisation of the figures which, in fact, are all portraits. This portraiture is explained by Watteau's method of work which was the same all through his life. He never painted from nature but constructed all his pictures from his collection of drawings which consisted partly of his own and other copies of drawings by the Old Masters which he kept in portfolios, and partly of his own drawings done from nature (both out of doors and in his studio), which he kept in bound sketch-books. As studio properties he had a number of theatrical and other costumes, and the figures in his pictures were painted from drawings of his friends and acquaintances dressed up in these properties. The comedians in his Italian Comedy pictures were thus, for the most part, not drawn from real Italian or even real Franco-Italian Comedians; and the figures in his *Fêtes* were the result of similar procedures.²

¹ All through the eighteenth century Watteau was referred to as "*peintre flamand*."

² At the same time Watteau was always extremely interested in stage performances of all kinds and visited them and made the acquaintance of the performers whenever an opportunity occurred. He frequented the Franco-Italian Comedians' performances at the Fairs, as noted, and in 1702

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The identity of some of the figures in the pictures of this period is known. The male dancer in the *Fêtes Vénitiennes* is Watteau's friend, the painter Vleughels. The sitter for the girl dancer in this picture is the same as for the dancer in *L'Amour au Théâtre français* (Pl. 44a); she appears also in Baron Edmond de Rothschild's *Troupe Italienne* (*Les habits sont Italiens*), and in *La Finette* (Pl. 44c). She may have been the daughter of Sirois who married Gersaint in 1718. The *Mezzetin* in *Sous un habit de Mezzetin*, catalogued as *Gilles and his Family* in the London Wallace Collection, is Sirois himself; the women are doubtless members of his family.

In the year which Watteau now spent in the Hôtel Crozat he became artistically educated. From Crozat's treasures he absorbed the secrets of the Old Masters—especially the secret of the Venetian contribution to æsthetic. When he left he carried with him portfolios containing his copies of landscape and figure drawings by Rubens, Van Dyck, Bassano, Titian, Veronese and a number after Domenico Campagnola (a Venetian of the School of Giorgione and Titian) to whom he professed his particular indebtedness.¹

when he first arrived in Paris he saw Dancourt's *Les Trois Cousines* and made the acquaintance of the actress La Desmares who played *La Pèlerine*, the leading part. The piece ended with a ballet-cortège and the song :

" *Venez à l'île de Cythère*
En pèlerinage avec nous,
Jeune fille n'en revient guère
Ou sans amant ou sans époux."

Watteau made a drawing of La Desmares as *La Pèlerine* which was engraved in the *Recueil Jullienne* and these impressions were eventually transformed into *L'Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère* (Pl. 47). Watteau also doubtless frequented the real Italian Comedians when they returned to Paris.

¹ Watteau's work in the next period was certainly influenced by Giorgione's *Concert Champêtre* (Pl. 46b) which is now in the Louvre. In Watteau's *La Perspective* (Pl. 45a) in Boston the group on the ground is the equivalent of the central group in Giorgione's picture and the light standing figure on the left is the equivalent of Giorgione's standing nude. The compositional resemblances between Watteau's *L'Amour Paisible* (Pl. 46a) in Potsdam and Giorgione's picture are also very striking; a shepherd moreover and his sheep appear on the second plane in both pictures.

Giorgione's picture after being owned successively by the Duke of



ANTOINE WATTEAU. L'Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère.

Encre, Musée M. de la



London, Wallace Collection

ANTOINE WATTEAU. Les Amusements Champêtres.

WATTEAU'S ŒUVRE

In the pictures produced between the end of 1716, when he left the Hôtel Crozat, and his departure for England three years later, we see the effects of his drawings from nature in Paris and at Montmorency and of his copies of the Old Master drawings. Watteau used both types of drawing with equal freedom. In the Boston *La Perspective* (Pl. 45a), the building seen through the trees is the entrance pavilion of the Château de Montmorency. In *Plaisirs du Bal*, at Dulwich, we see the influence of Veronese, and a dog taken from one of the Rubens' panels in the Luxembourg. In the London Wallace Collection, *Les Charmes de la vie*, we have a view of the Champs Élysées and the Chaussée d'Anain in the distance, and a dog which comes from another picture in the Rubens' series.¹

Watteau's study of the Old Masters also fired him with ambitions to paint some pictures with nude figures. But for this he had to find a young woman from whom he could make drawings from the figure. In Paris at this time there were no professional female models for the nude, and only male figure models were used in the Academy's school. Every artist who wanted to draw the female figure from life had to find a model among his own acquaintance. Watteau found one (who, tradition has it, also acted as his servant) and thereafter the next aspect of his *œuvre* begins.²

Mantua and Charles I passed to Jabach's collection; it was among the pictures acquired by Louis XIV in 1671. Watteau presumably saw it in the Royal collections to which, of course, he could have obtained access through Crozat.

On the other hand certain scholars ascribe the *Concer. Champêtre* to Domenico Campagnola. Is it possible that the drawing for this picture was among those by Campagnola which Watteau copied, and that this is why he admitted particular indebtedness to this artist?

For my own part I see no reason to suppose that Giorgione was not the author of the picture; and every reason for supposing that Giorgione and Watteau were kindred spirits in similar situations (cf. pp. 118, 119).

For the relation of Giorgione's *Concert Champêtre* to Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, cf. p. 239 and Pl. 97b.

¹ Watteau used the same sketch-books and portfolios all through his career and the figures and details are repeated in pictures of all periods. Dozens of examples could be quoted.

² The nude by Watteau called *L'Amour désarmé* in the Musée Condé at Chantilly was not painted from a drawing made from life but from a drawing

WATTEAU'S ŒUVRE

The new model appears in the Louvre *Judgment of Paris* (Pl. 42), in which Watteau captured the finer essence of the art of Rubens. She is a magnificently tall blonde, with a long neck and a straight nose. It is clear that she had what artists call the "sense of pose"; and that Watteau delighted in every turn of her head, in her simple but proud carriage as she stood erect, in her habit of sitting on the ground, and in every one of the perfectly balanced attitudes into which she was, as artists say, continually falling. The earlier model, immortalised as *La Finette* (Pl. 44c), had been *petite* with a little round head and a snub nose. She had been amiable, and with engaging *gaucherie* she would hold her skirts out and keep the pose which was asked of her (Pl. 44a). But with this new model it was a different matter; the problem here was to note with sufficient rapidity the hundreds of delightful attitudes which she unconsciously assumed (Pl. 49).

We see the new model also as the central figure in the Louvre *L'Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère* which was painted in 1717, and again as the same figure and as the nude statue in the second version of the subject, painted for Jullienne, which is now in Berlin (Pl. 47). Thereafter heads and figures painted from the hundreds of drawings which he made from her abound in his pictures. We see her in the Louvre *Le faux pas* (Pl. 45c) and in the Chantilly *L'Amante inquiète* (Pl. 45b).

Watteau had now arrived at the personal and characteristic style which we associate with his name. In the next two years he painted a number of his most celebrated *Fêtes* including the Wallace Collection *Amusements champêtres* (Pl. 49) and *Champs Elysées*, and the Dresden *Réunion Champêtre* and *Plaisirs d'Amour* which both have statues drawn from the new model.¹

To this period we can also assign a new series of Italian Comedy pictures, for which Watteau may have used drawings made from the real Italian Comedians who had now returned to Paris; Lord Spencer's group of five figures, *Comédiens Italiens*, was probably painted in this way, and so probably was the celebrated *Gilles* (Pl. III).

by Veronese (now in the Louvre) which belonged to Mariette, who acquired it from Crozat.

¹ But figures painted from earlier drawings of *La Finette* also occur in the later pictures owing to Watteau's habit of using his old sketch-books.



Fig. 1. British Museum

ANTOINE WATTEAU. Drawing.



Reproduction of a detail from

ANTOINE WATTEAU, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (detail).

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There are hardly any records of the pictures which he painted in England. But we know of two which belonged to Dr. Mead—a *Comédiens Italiens* and *L'Amour paisible*, known as *Pastoral Conversation* to distinguish it from *L'Amour paisible* (Pl. 46a) in Potsdam. The first, now in the Wildenstein Collection in Paris, is a composition of fifteen figures grouped on a stage with architectural setting. The second, now in America, shows six large figures in a landscape. In both the main figures are evidently portraits and the Louvre has a life-sized head of an old man with flowing forked beard, catalogued as *Portrait d'un anglais*, which is ascribed to Watteau and believed to have been painted in England.¹

In England to-day rich people encourage imaginative artists by commissioning them to paint "speaking likenesses" of themselves and their relations. In Watteau's day it was probably the same. In England he was probably driven to portraiture; and on his return to Paris his friends noted that he had become avaricious.²

Tendencies to portraiture and direct genre, combined with a large scale in the figures, either for this reason or some other, mark the pictures ascribed to the last year after the return from England. These pictures include the Berlin *L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (Pl. 50) (where modish actuality appears for the first time in Watteau's work), the portrait of the little girl *Iris c'est de bonheur avoir l'air de la danse*, known as *La Danse* (Pl. 51b), and probably the portrait of *Antoine de la Roque* (Pl. 52a).³

Many of Watteau's pictures are in bad condition. *Plaisirs du Bal*, at Dulwich, is a ruin; *L'Accordée de Village*, in the Soane

¹ M. Gillet's description of this picture is worth quoting: "*Cette tête a une physionomie de vieux marin, un regard de gin et d'eau salée fait songer à quelque loup de mer.*" I have not noticed this myself. The gin and salt water effect has also escaped M. Jamot who believes the picture to be a portrait of Dr. Mead.

² Of the English visit of Caylus writes: "*Il y fut assez accueilli et ne laissa pas de faire ses affaires du côté de l'utile,*" and Gersaint writes that there "*il commenca à prendre le goût pour l'argent,*" though previously "*son désintéressement étoit si grand que plus d'une fois il s'est fâché vivement contre moi, pour avoir voulu lui donner un prix raisonnable de certaines choses . . .*" De Caylus also relates of his earlier period that he gave a wig-maker two pictures for a wig and was worried afterwards lest he had not given him enough.

³ Cf. note, p. 122.

WATTEAU'S ART

Museum, is very much and very badly repainted; the Louvre *L'Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère* is a ghost of its former self.¹

iv. Watteau's Art

C'est un peintre . . . qui imite à merveille la nature.

Etienne Jeaurat,² 1729.

Il a réussi dans les petites figures qu'il a dessinées, et qu'il a très bien groupées; mais il n'a jamais rien fait de grand, il en étoit incapable.

Voltaire, *Le Temple du Goût*.

*Le goût qu'il a suivi est proprement celui des bambochades.*³

D'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*,
1745.

N'ayant aucune connoissance de l'anatomie, et n'ayant presque jamais dessiné le nud, il ne sçavoit ni le lire, ni l'exprimer . . . Cette insuffisance dans la pratique du dessin le mettoit hors de portée de peindre ni de composer rien de héroïque ni d'allégorique, encore moins de rendre les figures d'une certaine grandeur . . . Les dégoûts qu'il prenoit si souvent pour ses propres ouvrages, partoient de la situation d'un homme qui pense mieux qu'il ne peut exécuter . . . Au fond, il en faut convenir, Watteau étoit infiniment maniéré.

Le Comte de Caylus. Lecture on Watteau to the Royal Academy of painting and sculpture 3 Feb., 1748.

Je donnerais dix Watteau pour un Téniers.

Diderot,⁴ *Pensées détachées sur la peinture*, c. 1760.

Watteau is a master I adore. He unites in his small figures correct drawing, the spirited touch of Velasquez with the colouring of the Venetian school.

Sir Joshua Reynolds.

¹ For this the Louvre authorities are not, for once, to blame. The picture which, as noted, was Watteau's *tableau de réception*, belonged to the Academy. When David abolished that institution it hung in one of the apartments of the art school directed by David himself, and it was then so little esteemed that it was used as an "Aunt Sally" by the students who pelted it with *boulettes de mie de pain*.

Watteau himself was largely responsible for the deterioration of his pictures. We know from de Caylus that he neglected to clean his oilpot and palette, that he used badly prepared canvases and too much oil with his colours, and that he resorted to the bad practice known among painters as "oiling out" when a half-completed picture had "sunk in."

² A genre and decorative painter (1699-1789) who engraved a number of Watteau's works.

³ Cf. note, p. 86.

⁴ Cf. p. 144.

WATTEAU'S ART

I have learned more from Watteau than from any other Painter.

J. M. W. Turner, R.A.

*Watteau, ce carnaval où bien des cœurs illustres,
Commes des papillons, errent en flamboyant,
Décors frais et légers éclairés par des lustres
Qui versent la folie à ce bal tournoyant.*

Baudelaire, *Les Phares*, 1857.

Le grand poète du XVIII^e siècle est Watteau.

Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, 1860.

The French . . . have never produced a single great painter. Watteau, their best, is still a mere room decorator.¹

Ruskin, 1878.

That impossible or forbidden world which the mason's boy saw through the closed gateways of the enchanted garden.

Walter Pater, 1887.

Son défaut, c'est de voir le monde comme une scène de l'Opéra, éclairée aux feux de Bengale, de n'être ni passionné ni ému, de se jouer à la surface des choses.

Salomon Reinach, 1904.

Il sent qu'il va mourir.

Elie Faure, 1920.

Cette œuvre . . . était l'illustration de l'état d'âme d'un phthisique caractérisé . . . Une maladie est un état, ce n'est pas nécessairement une tare. Elle peut exalter autant que paralyser . . . Il est permis de penser que sans elle ni Watteau, ni Mozart, ni Chopin . . . n'eussent été tels que nous les admirons.

Camille Mauclair, 1920.

Pictorial visions of a world devoted to beauty and idle dalliance.

Sir Charles Holmes, 1927.

It is possible to exaggerate the permanent æsthetic value of his painting, as it is easy to read into it more spiritual and psychological significance than is really there. . . . With happy carelessness he scatters his little figures, like so many glittering butterflies, along the grass under his feathery trees, rarely troubling about the exact proportion of the groups to the background, and never about the formal geometry of design.

Sir Charles Holmes, 1927.

Watteau's art must be judged by the pictures painted from 1716 to 1720—the finest of his *Fêtes* such as *L'Embarquement*

¹ There is no reference to Watteau in the whole of Ruskin's published works. The comment quoted comes in the MS. for the continuation of *The Laws of Fésole* which was never completed.

WATTEAU'S ART

pour l'île de Cythère (Pl. 47) and *Les Amusements Champêtres* (Pl. 48). Those pictures were described in his own day as *Fêtes galantes* and we must know what the term then meant if we are properly to understand them.

The word *galant* has acquired a pejorative significance from its use in connection with the type of French print of the later eighteenth century known as *estampe galante*. In Watteau's day the word *galant* had not yet acquired this association with dainty lasciviousness. It was used to describe the new cultural values of the most refined sections of Parisian society.

When Watteau was received by the Academy he was described as *peintre des fêtes galantes*.¹ No artist had ever been so described before because Paris had never known a *vie galante* till it was created there by the *noblesse d'affaires* represented by men like Crozat and Jullienne and the ladies of their world. The particular qualities by which Parisian civilisation is still to a great extent characterised to-day were born at the very moment that Watteau was painting his pictures. La Finette as transformed by Watteau was the first "Parisienne," and the afternoon parties in the park at Montmorency, which Watteau attended, were the first expression of a culture that was about to call for the exquisite applied arts of the Louis XV and Louis XVI styles. Watteau's sensibility was stirred by contact with this civilisation which was all the more attractive because it was still a civilisation in the bud, a civilisation which had not yet revealed the imperfections of the flower.

I have referred above to the influence of Giorgione's *Concert Champêtre* (Pl. 46b) on Watteau's work. Watteau, I think, responded to this picture not only on account of its pictorial and æsthetic qualities but also because the Venetian civilisation symbolised by Giorgione was parallel to the Parisian civilisation by which Watteau himself was surrounded in Crozat's park. An artist can do nothing till he perceives, actually or in imagination, an aspect of life that holds his attention; he is sterile till he feels himself part of an actual or imagined world which he can contemplate with fascinated interest. Having found such a world he has to retain his faith in it, and to do this he turns to the past for evidence that men have been intrigued by such a

¹ Cf. p. 141.



London, Wallace Collection

NICOLAS LANCRET, *Mlle. Camargo dancing.*



Collection of the former reigning Prussian house

ANTOINE WATTEAU, *La Danse.*



From the engraving by Leprieux

ANTOINE WATTEAU. Antoine de la Roque.



Engraving by P. M. Dore

THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH. Mr. Plampin.

WATTEAU'S ART

real or imagined world before. Giorgione appeared at the moment when the new-rich Venetians and their sons were turning their backs on business and seeking a new civilisation in villas on the mainland, where for the first time in Venetian history they could lie upon the grass beneath the shade of trees ; and he sublimated this new amenity. When Watteau saw *Concert Champêtre* he had found the precedent he was seeking.

I say that Giorgione "sublimated" the civilisation which surrounded him, because the *Concert Champêtre* is not a record of a social gathering in a Venetian garden, as for example Van Loo's *Déjeuner de Chasse* (Pl. 54b) is a record of a social gathering at Fontainebleau ; and it was this sublimation that appealed to Watteau who knew that the ladies in Venetian gardens did not habitually wander nude, just as we know that Crozat's guests at Montmorency were infrequently, if ever, garbed in the clothes from Watteau's property-wardrobe or the costumes of mummers at Fairs. Watteau saw that Giorgione's picture symbolised the ideal conclusion of a civilisation which (we now know), in fact, concluded in the society that Napoleon kicked into the sea ; and we can see that Watteau's pictures symbolised the ideal conclusion of a civilisation which in fact concluded in the society that was exterminated by the Revolution and the guillotine.

In our day Watteau's pictures appeal, as they appealed in their own day, to the bourgeois spirit in its least Philistine aspect. The bourgeois when he is a Philistine resents all art except popular art which is produced to achieve contact with his familiar experience.¹ When he is not a Philistine he wishes to be transported by means of art from the realities of every-day life to a world "devoted to beauty and idle dalliance." But he makes it a condition that this ideal world shall be one in which he can imagine himself a regular inhabitant. The imaginative bourgeois can project himself into Watteau's *Fêtes galantes* ; but he cannot project himself into the pastoral and mythological world of Boucher ; therefore he prefers Watteau to Boucher.

But Watteau's pictures also appeal to those who ask art to provide a microcosmic concept as a means of focussing life as a whole. These spectators enjoy the character of the little figures in Watteau's pictures and their relation to the woods and parks

¹ Cf. my *Modern Movement in Art*, *passim*.

WATTEAU'S CHARACTER

in which they move. We live in an age wearied of nineteenth-century Romantic individualism with its exaltation of individual personalities and individual faces. To escape from the Romantic concepts of the last century and the Romantic journalism of our own to Watteau's *Amusements Champêtres*—where generic figures seem to have achieved a perfect and simple adjustment to surrounding life—is to capture, for a moment, a sense of proportion, and with it refreshment and repose.

v. Watteau's Character

Watteau's biographers from de Caylus to M. Camille Mauclair have insisted on his wayward personality and his restless discontent; and de Caylus assumed that his discontent was due to knowledge that his productions fell short of the standards of the Academic "Grand Manner."¹

The explanation of Watteau's discontent, his irritability, his depressions, his flight from the Hôtel Crozat, and his flight from the kind offices of his other friends, can be explained, I fancy, by the eternal opposition between the original creative artist and the personnel of both the bourgeois and the social-artistic worlds. Watteau owed his existence as an independent artist to the friendship of contemporary *dilettanti*; without their aid his poverty might have kept him a hack assistant to other painters all his life. But the friendship, in which from their good nature these *dilettanti* enveloped their patronage, was a source of continual irritation. Watteau's reason reminded him of his debt

¹ De Caylus describes Watteau's personality as follows: "*Il étoit de moyenne taille, il n'avoit point du tout de phisionomie, ses yeux n'indiquoient ni son talent ni la vivacité de son esprit. Il étoit sombre, mélancolique, comme le sont tous les atrabilaires, naturellement sobre et incapable d'aucun excès. La pureté de ses mœurs lui permettoit à peine de jouir du libertinage de son esprit, et on s'en apercevoit rarement dans ses discours.*"

Gersaint's description reads: "*Watteau étoit de moyenne taille et d'une foible constitution, il avoit le caractère inquiet et changeant, il étoit entier dans ses volontés, libertin d'esprit, mais sage de mœurs; impatient, timide, d'un abord froid et embarrassé, discret et réservé avec les inconnus, bon, mais difficile ami; misantrope, même critique malin et mordant, toujours mécontent de lui même et des autres et pardonnant difficilement; il aimoit beaucoup la lecture; c'étoit l'unique amusement qu'il se procuroit dans son loisir; quoique sans lettres, il décidoit assez sainement d'un ouvrage d'esprit.*"

WATTEAU'S FOLLOWERS

to Crozat and Jullienne, but he could never feel at home in the company of men who, after all, were millionaires with a sense of values that were inevitably foreign not only to Watteau "the mason's boy" but also to Watteau the painter of *Amusements Champêtres* and *L'Embarquement pour Cythère*. From the millionaires Watteau might escape to Sirois and Gersaint, well-meaning *petits bourgeois* of moderate means; but there again Watteau, the artist, was out of touch with an environment which regarded pictures, at bottom, as a means of making money; though we know that in their affection for Watteau neither Sirois nor Gersaint ever stressed this point of view.

De Caylus, who never appreciated the real character of Watteau's art, has nevertheless provided us with the key to his character. In the rooms which he hired as studios, where he drew with Henin and Watteau from the model, Watteau, he tells us, "*si sombre, si atrabilaire, si timide, et si caustique partout ailleurs, n'étoit plus alors que le Wateau de ses tableaux; c'est à dire l'auteur qu'ils font imaginer, agréable, tendre et peut être un peu berger.*" It was only when Watteau was working that he could forget his benefactors—Crozat, Jullienne, Sirois, Gersaint, and de Caylus himself who was paying for the studio; and it was because Watteau could only feel at ease in the sublimation of the world around him that he gave that world his delicately sublimated images of itself.

vi. Watteau's Followers

The influence of Watteau's pictures is seen all over the painted decoration and the tapestries of the eighteenth century. But that influence for the most part was not direct. It came to French applied art through the engravings in the *Recueil Jullienne* and through the works of his followers¹

¹ Watteau's influence was not confined to France. At Ham House near London Lord Dysart has a celebrated set of eighteenth-century tapestries made from engravings after his pictures. One of these reproduces *La Cascade* (now in the London Wallace Collection) which was engraved by Scotin. These tapestries signed "Bradshaw" were made in the tapestry factories at Fulham and Exeter which were founded in 1748 by a French capuchin P. Norbert, known as Parisot, who employed craftsmen trained at the Gobelins. They are usually described erroneously as "Mortlake."

WATTEAU'S FOLLOWERS

Of these followers Jean-Baptiste Pater and Nicolas Lancret are the best-known figures.

Jean-Baptiste Pater (1696-1736) was a native of Valenciennes and he worked, as noted, in Watteau's atelier about 1713. Watteau eventually quarrelled with him and he returned to Valenciennes. There, since he had had some success with his pictures in Paris, he refused to submit a work to the local Guild of Luc to qualify as *maître*, and when he began to offer his pictures for sale the Guild prosecuted him as a *fraudeur de l'art de la peinture*, and it also prosecuted his father, a well-known local sculptor, as an accomplice. Pater and his father appealed from Court to Court and lost every appeal. In the end, driven out of Valenciennes, Pater returned to Paris. This was about 1719. In the following year, he was summoned by Watteau to Nogent and from that time till his death, sixteen years later, he continuously produced pictures in the manner of his master. He was received into the Academy in 1728 as *peintre de sujets modernes*.

Pater's pictures are often impregnated with a delicate blue haze and seem at first slighter, more ethereal, and less realistic than Watteau's. But in spirit they are really more actual. They depict fragments of the life of the time with an eye that is almost journalistic. The ethereal quality is technical; the spiritual quality is genre.

His work stands, in fact, half-way between Watteau's pictures and the *estampes galantes*. In Pater's pictures the lovers make more daring advances, and the ladies who sit before their mirrors while their maids adjust their hair, or bathe so discreetly in a lake, are often hoping that some adventurous young gallant is concealed behind the curtains or among the trees.¹

Watteau's portrait of *Antoine de la Roque* or the engraving from it (Pl. 52a) which is probably reversed, must have influenced Gainsborough's *Mr. Plampin* (Pl. 52b) painted in his early Ipswich period. In Watteau's picture the attitude had particular significance because the sitter (cf. p. 103) was lame, having had his leg shattered at Malplaquet.

Watteau's arabesque decorations were disseminated in the *Recueil Jullienne* and also in engravings published by Gersaint "*à l'usage des éventailistes, sculpteurs, orfèvres, tapisseries et brodeurs*."

¹ The Louvre and the London Wallace Collection have pictures by Pater where gallants in fact are so concealed. In the Louvre picture moreover the fundamentally genre character of Pater's imagination is seen in the



Fête Galante. David Weir's Collection

NORBLIN DE LA GOURDAINE. Fête Galante.



Detroit - Institute of Art

NICOLAS LANCRET, The Hunt Luncheon.



Paris - Louvre

CARL VAN LOO, Déjeuner de Chasse (détail).

WATTEAU'S FOLLOWERS

The most important collections of Pater's work are in the Potsdam Palaces and the London Wallace Collection. There are others in the Louvre and at Valenciennes. I reproduce a good example from the Simpson Collection in New York (Pl. 55a).

Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743) was a Parisian and a fellow pupil with Watteau in the atelier of Claude Gillot. He continued relations with Watteau, who was six years his senior, for a number of years, until, tradition has it, Watteau quarrelled with him when Jullienne had bought two of his pictures, exhibited in 1714 on the Place Dauphine.¹

Lancret's pictures are sometimes discordant in colour; but he was a more capable representational draughtsman than Pater and his figures often show a solidity which appeals to admirers of genre art. *Les deux baigneuses* (Pl. 55b) shows this aspect of his draughtsmanship.

Like Pater, he brought Watteau's art back to the genre level; and he also carried on the actuality and modishness which appeared in Watteau's *Enseigne de Gersaint* (Pl. 50). He painted a number of Italian Comedy pictures in imitation of Watteau and also a number of pictures representing contemporary stage favourites such as the dancer *La Camargo* (Pl. 51a) and her rival La Salle.²

gesture of the maid who warms some undergarments by the fire. This gesture had not appeared, as my knowledge goes, in French art since the day when Fouquet drew the miniature of the *Birth of St. John the Baptist* in Etienne Chevalier's *Livre d'heures* (cf. pp. 17, 18). The gesture would never have occurred to Watteau.

¹ At this time there was an open air picture show every year on Corpus Christi Day on the Place Dauphine where the procession terminated at an altar. The walls of all the adjacent houses and shops were hung with carpets and draperies from an early hour in the morning and pictures by Old Masters and contemporary artists were attached to them. The exhibition lasted only till the ceremony was over and then the draperies and pictures were removed. The pictures which Lancret exhibited there in 1714 are said to have been mistaken for the work of Watteau himself.

² Lancret may have met both in the *salon* of the collector Titon de Tillet who entertained the dancers from the Opera and adopted Corneille's niece. Of the rivalry between La Camargo and La Salle, Voltaire wrote:

*Ab! Camargo, que vous êtes brillante !
Mais que Salle, grands dieux, est ravissante !*

WATTEAU'S FOLLOWERS

Lancret is seen above his usual level in a sketch like *The Hunt Luncheon* (Pl. 54a), in the Detroit Institute of Arts, which it is interesting to compare with Carle Van Loo's capable but rather prosaic *Déjeuner de Chasse* (Pl. 54b) in the Louvre.¹

At his worst he achieved a final metamorphosis of Watteau's style to purely journalistic genre. The celebrated *Déjeuner de jambon* (now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly) depicts a scene of drunkenness and gluttony which takes us back to the eating-and-drinking art of seventeenth-century Holland. But the gluttons and drunkards in Lancret's picture are no longer peasants or members of the *petite bourgeoisie*—they are persons of "quality" continuing the tradition of the Regent's gluttonous and drunken suppers.²

*Que vos pas sont légers, et que les siens sont doux !
Elle est inimitable, et vous toujours nouvelle.
Les Nymphes sautent comme vous,
Et les Grâces dansent comme elle.*

¹ For Van Loo cf. notes, p. 142. His *Déjeuner de Chasse* was painted for Fontainebleau (cf. p. 143). The horses are based on the tradition started by Van der Meulen, an assistant of Le Brun, who painted the horses in Le Brun's *Triumph of Alexander* (Pl. 37b). Lancret's *The Hunt Luncheon* (Pl. 54a) is a sketch for his *La Collation après la Chasse* which was formerly at Potsdam in the collection of the former reigning Prussian House and now belongs to MM. Wildenstein & Cie, Paris and New York. The horses in Lancret's picture also go back to Van der Meulen.

² The *Déjeuner de jambon* was one of four pictures for the *petits cabinets* at Versailles arranged for Louis XV, who following the taste of the time neglected the great galleries and preferred small apartments in the Palace and in the Grand Trianon (which Louis XIV had built for Mme de Maintenon). The other three panels were painted by Jean Francois de Troy (cf. note, p. 143); one of them, *Le Déjeuner d'huîtres*, preserved at Chantilly, is as much a scene of gluttony as Lancret's picture.

B. THE AGE OF LOUIS XV AND LOUIS XVI

i. *The Louis XV Style*

Louis XV, great grandson of Louis XIV, was born in 1710. He was five years old when he succeeded, and he was thirteen when the Regent died in 1723.

His reign, from the standpoint of the art-historian, can be divided into three sections : (a) the Regency and the period from 1726 to 1743, when France was ruled by Cardinal Fleury, (b) the period of the influence of Mme de Pompadour, 1745 to 1764, and (c) the final period of Mme du Barry, 1769 to 1774.

The growth of Paris as a social centre was encouraged by the Regent, who installed himself in the Palais Royal and the King in the Tuileries. The theatre, the opera and the public masked balls instituted at the Opera in 1716 now became features of social life.¹ Later the arcades of the Palais Royal and the boulevards, with the first cafés, became *rendez-vous* of fashion.² Under the Regency also, many new private mansions were constructed by the new rich, who included the Crozats and Jullienne already mentioned, and this construction continued in the period of Fleury, who achieved the miracle of balancing the State budget.³

The taste was now for smaller houses and more intimate apartments ; ladies of a frivolous turn of mind had their boudoirs for flirtations and others had their Salons where they entertained artists and men of letters.⁴

¹ The masked balls to which the public paid for admission were the idea of the Regent who himself attended them. They proved so lucrative that others were instituted in the galleries of the *Académie française* in the Louvre.

² The cafés, a development of the old cabarets of ill-repute, were at first tea and coffee houses. The purveyance of "soft" drinks was then, as now, so fantastically profitable that the number of cafés soon increased ; in 1723 there were 400 in Paris, in 1788 there were 1800.

³ This was in 1738. It was the only year in which the budget was balanced between 1672 and the time of Napoleon.

⁴ The seventeenth-century Salons were destroyed by Molière's *Les précieuses ridicules* ; the Salons now founded continued all through the eighteenth century and were an important factor in the development of the free thought of an age which began with the tradition of Colbert's King-State-Socialism and passed via Voltaire to the Back-to-Nature Individualism of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

PORTRAIT PAINTERS

In these circumstances, as a hundred years earlier, the owners of the new *hôtels* required artists and craftsmen, and the King also required them for the new small apartments in his residences. The Louis XV or *rocaille* style in architecture and the applied arts, which had really begun at the end of the reign of Louis XIV and was definitely launched under the Regency, was the result of these demands.

The characteristics of this style are well known because from France it was exported to and imitated by every country in the civilised world. It was a style which used the minimum of straight lines in the architecture and in the furniture and appointments designed to go with it. Its essential feature was the Chinese broken curve, which was soon developed to characteristic shell and foliage forms.¹

The vast production of applied art from this period to the end of the old régime was possible because the organisation of French art effected by Colbert and Le Brun was still in existence. The Gobelins factory had passed through serious depression at the end of the reign of Louis XIV, and had at one time been closed, but it now recommenced the manufacture of applied art—especially of tapestry which was also produced in the associated factory at Beauvais. In 1738 the Sèvres porcelain factory (which was moved to Sèvres in 1756) was established at Vincennes; and various new establishments of cabinet makers obtained official patronage about the same time. There was no lack of skilled operatives because institutions, with royal protection, trained them all over France, until the whole organisation was abolished in the Revolution.

ij. *Portrait Painters*

We are so accustomed to associate the age of Louis XV with the *rocaille* style in applied art and with the decorative painting by François Boucher which went with it that we are apt to forget

¹ For Chinese influences in French decoration cf. note, p. 110. Chinese *motifs* occur all over the marquetry in French furniture of this period. I have referred to Oppenordt as a pioneer of the *rocaille* style (cf. note, p. 110). Other pioneers of the style were Just Aurèle Meissonier, Robert Martin and Charles Cressent.



New York. Simpson Collection

JEAN-BAPTISTE PATER. *Le Bain.*



*From the Hermitage, Leningrad. Reproduced by courtesy of
M.M. Wildenstein et Cie, Paris and New York*

NICOLAS LANCRET. *Les deux Baigneuses.*



Cherubin — Mme. Coudé

JEAN MARC NATHER, Mlle. Beaupalais.



L'Esclave

JEAN MARC NATHER, Mme. Victoire as Diana.

PORTRAIT PAINTERS

that the age also produced some excellent portraiture. Rigaud and Largillière both practised right up to the advent of M^{me}. de Pompadour, since Rigaud, as noted, lived till 1743 and Largillière till 1746; and the same period witnessed the rise and first successes of Jean-Marc Nattier, and the portrait painting of Subleyras, Pesne, Aved and Dumont, and much of the work of the pastellists La Tour and Perronneau.

Jean-Marc Nattier (1685-1766) began his career with a commission from Louis XIV to engrave the Rubens panels in the Luxembourg. In 1717 he made a journey to Amsterdam with the ambassador of Peter the Great and painted the Czar, who was then in that city, and the Czarina, then at The Hague. In Holland he studied the works of Rembrandt and he afterwards adapted some of Rembrandt's effects of light and some of his compositional *motifs* to his own ends.¹

On his return to Paris he lost most of his money in the Law crash² but he recovered by creating a vogue for an allegorical type of portrait in which he painted the first favourites of Louis XV and other ladies in Court circles.³

Commissioned by the Queen, Marie Leczinska, to paint her

¹ In Nattier's portrait *Madame Victoire as Diana* (Pl. 56b) at Versailles we see in the background the rock aperture which figures in the background of many of Rembrandt's pictures, a *motif* which Rembrandt himself took over from Lastman and Pynas (cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, Pls. 29, 36 and 38). The same Rembrandtesque background appears in Nattier's *La Madeleine* in the Louvre. Nattier's portraits of the Czar and Czarina were formerly in the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg. Since the Russian Revolution they have been removed to the Hermitage Museum. In Amsterdam Nattier also painted *The Battle of Pultava* for the Czar. This picture was believed lost. It has been discovered since the Russian Revolution in the castle of Sytchevka and transferred to the Moscow Museum.

² Cf. pp. 97-105.

³ Nattier was not, of course, the inventor of the allegorical portraiture of ladies in French art. We have already noted such portraiture among the productions of the School of Fontainebleau (cf. Pl. 17a); Mignard's portrait of the *Marquise de Seignelay as Thetis* (Pl. 41c) painted in 1691 was a little different as it doubtless recorded some actual charade; but Largillière had painted *Mme de Gueydan as a Naiad* (Aix-en-Provence Museum) and other such pictures in Nattier's own day, and Raoux (cf. p. 132) also painted a number of society ladies in this way. It was however unquestionably Nattier who launched the vogue for this type of portraiture at this period.

PORTRAIT PAINTERS

daughter Madame Henriette, he produced the celebrated full-length *Mme Henriette playing the violoncello* which is now at Versailles. Thereafter he became the official Court painter of the Princesses and depicted them again in his allegorical manner in a series of pictures, now at Versailles, where we see *Madame Victoire as Diana* (Pl. 56b), *Madame Henriette as Flora*, *Madame Adelaide as Juno* and so forth.

The faithful portrayal of costume in the portrait of the Queen and in the first series of portraits of the Princesses is found in other portraits by Nattier. His *Mlle Beaujolais* (Pl. 56a), for example, at Versailles, is a charming embodiment of the rose-and-lace aspect of French civilisation at this time. No painter has recorded this aspect with more sympathy, delicacy and skill.¹

Pierre-Hubert Subleyras (1699-1749) went to Rome at the age of twenty-eight and remained there for the rest of his life. He painted mostly religious pictures for Italian churches and occasionally still life and genre subjects. His real talent, however, was for portraiture as can be seen in his *Pope Benoit XIV*, now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly.²

Antoine Pesne (1683-1757) was another artist who lived most of his life abroad as he became Court painter to the King of Prussia. His portrait of Frederic the Great is in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. The Rouen Museum has his portrait, *The Artist's Daughter*, which Reynolds may also have seen.³

Jacques-André-Joseph Aved (1702-1766), son of a doctor of Douai, was brought up at Amsterdam. He was impressed at an early age by the art of Rembrandt and eventually owned eight of his pictures and a complete set of his etchings. His portrait

¹ Nattier at his best achieved very delicate pearly tints in his flesh painting. He had a large collection of sea-shells which he studied for their form and colour. Collections of shells were very fashionable in Paris at this time. Boucher also had one (cf. p. 149). Reynolds who was in Paris in 1752 and again in 1771 possibly had Nattier's three-quarter-length portrait of the Queen (now at Versailles) in his mind when he painted *The Countess of Albemarle* (now in the London National Gallery) in 1757-1759.

² The Art Museum at Worcester (Mass.) has another example of his talent in this field—a portrait of *Maria Tibaldi*, the miniature painter, whom he married.

³ The Art Museum at Worcester (Mass.) has Pesne's portrait *The engraver F. G. Schmidt*, and the Louvre has his *Nicolas Vleughels*.



St. Quentin. Museum

MAURICE-QUENTIN DE LA TOUR.
The actor Manelli.



Paris. David Weill Collection

JEAN-BAPTISTE PERRONNEAU.
Le Comte de Bastard.



St. Quentin. Museum

MAURICE-QUENTIN DE LA TOUR.
Mlle Fel.



Paris. David Weill Collection

JEAN-BAPTISTE PERRONNEAU.
Mme de Sorquainville.



Paris, Musée de l'Art Moderne

JEAN GRIMOU. The Topper.



Mars 11^e s., Muséum

JEAN RAOUX. Jeune fille et sa grandmère.



Paris, Louvre

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMON CHARDIN.
Le Souffleur.



Paris, Louvre

JEAN RAOUX. La Liseuse.

PASTELLISTS

of *Mme Crozat*, painted in 1741 and now in the Montpellier Museum, may also have influenced Reynolds. Aved was intimate with and had an influence on Chardin.

Jacques Dumont (1701-1781) was a minor history-painter in the Academic tradition. His name is preserved by the Louvre group of eleven figures, *Mme Mercier, the nurse of Louis XV, exhibiting the King's portrait to her family*, which is a faithful record of bourgeois costumes and types in the year 1731 when it was painted.

iii. Pastellists

The vogue for pastel portraits was started under the Regency by the Venetian pastellist Rosalba Carriera, who came to Paris in 1719-20 and stayed in the house of Pierre Crozat.¹ Before Rosalba's time there had been a number of French artists who specialised in pastel. Robert Nanteuil² had used the medium in the seventeenth century and he was followed by Joseph Vivien (1657-1725), who was drawing bold pastel portraits in the Rigaud manner when Rosalba arrived. But the light touch, the piquant distortions of drawing, and the vaporous colour in the Venetian artist's work appealed to those who wanted dainty ornamental portraits for their boudoirs, and after Rosalba's return to Venice the fashion which she had started was continued by Nattier and given a new significance by La Tour and Perronneau.

Maurice-Quentin de La Tour (1704-1788) was the son of a precentor at St. Quentin. He ran away to Paris at the age of fifteen to become an artist, and after the usual apprenticeship to various artists and a certain amount of travelling in search of work, including a visit to London, he began, about 1730, to get commissions for pastel portraits in Paris.

In 1737 the Academy organised the first Salon of the reign,³ and there La Tour exhibited two portraits which attracted attention. Three years later he staggered the Salon public with his full-length pastel portrait, *The President of the Chambre des Enquêtes du Parlement*, one Gabriel Bernard de Rieux.⁴ From

¹ Cf. p. 106.

² Cf. p. 56.

³ Cf. p. 143.

⁴ This pastel is now in the collection of M. Wildenstein in Paris.

PASTELLISTS

this date onwards he had continuous success ; he drew pastel portraits of the King, the Queen and the Dauphin ; and his full-length *Mme de Pompadour*, now in the Louvre, was a feature of the Salon of 1755.¹

La Tour was a splendid workman and a man of a downright character. Many stories are related of his independent attitude in dealing with his sitters and also of the originality and independence of his life, which culminated in madness in his last years. He died at the age of eighty-four.²

La Tour's art was well calculated to attract attention under the new conditions of public exhibition inaugurated by the Salons, where the first essential of success in portraiture, as in other fields, was the power to produce a work that would destroy its immediate neighbours by superior vitality and vigour. His pastels possess these qualities in a superlative degree. No portrait painter has surpassed him in vigorous and accurate delineation ; no painter has ever made faces that seem more astonishingly vital or more obviously "speaking likenesses" ; and as the colours in all his portraits are bright and the tones what painters call "pitched up," any La Tour portrait in any exhibition arrests even the most listless visitor at once.

¹ Cf. p. 152.

² On one occasion a financier sent his servant to La Tour to explain that he was unable to come to a sitting. La Tour who was sitting at his easel waiting to begin work flew into a rage, comprehensible to all artists, and forced the servant to sit instead of his master. He then sent the portrait of the servant to the Salon and refused to continue the original commission.

La Tour made all his sitters come to the studio which had been allotted to him in the Louvre (cf. note, p. 40). He made an exception, however, in the case of *Mme de Pompadour*, whom he drew at Versailles ; but he astonished the Marquise by undoing his shoe-buckles and taking off his garters, collar and wig that he might be at his ease before commencing work, and when the King entered during a sitting he refused to continue work as he never drew with a third person in the room. He also refused to complete portraits of the Princesses because they had failed to keep appointments for sittings.

He received large sums for his portraits and he amassed a great fortune, part of which he spent on founding scholarships for artists and in benefactions to his native town. He never married and was for many years the lover of Marie Fel (Pl. 57c) the opera singer, who sang Colette in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Devin de Village*. He drew a portrait of Rousseau, the study for which is preserved at St. Quentin.

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La Tour's talents are seen at their best in the series of studies preserved in the Museum at St. Quentin. From the study, *The Painter Claude Dupouch*, we know not only the sitter's exact features but also exactly the hours that have passed since he last shaved—rather inadequately—his lips and chin. In *The Actor Manelli* (Pl. 57a), we cannot escape the fascination of the dark quivering eyebrow and the amazing smile framed between the white of the wig and the pink of the tic on the blue and gold coat. What face in the history of portrait-painting is more memorable than Marie Fel (Pl. 57c)? What camera could have told us more of the French professional man of the period in his own home than La Tour tells us in *The Lawyer Pierre-Louis Laideguive* (Pl. 39b)?¹

Jean-Baptiste Perronneau (1715-1783) was a man of a different calibre from La Tour and he had a very different career. Retiring by nature, in no sense a good business man, tentative in his approaches both as an artist and as a man, he never captured the favour of the great and spent his time wandering in the French provinces, in Holland, and even as far as Russia, doing pastel portraits for a livelihood.²

As a portraitist he is less downright and categorical than La Tour and the quality of his touch suggests a sensibility that appeals to many collectors to-day. For students of English painting he is, moreover, an especially interesting artist because he stood, in a sense, in much the same relation to La Tour that Gainsborough stood to Reynolds. I reproduce his delicately

¹ La Tour quite consciously attempted to suggest environment not only in accessories but also in the actual faces in his pastels. In this connection he wrote: "*Il n'y a dans la nature, ni par conséquent dans l'art, aucun être oisif. Mais tout être a du souffrir plus ou moins de la fatigue de son état. Il en porte l'empreinte plus ou moins marquée. Le premier point est de bien saisir cette empreinte . . .*" (Cf. note, p. 275.)

The portraits of Dupouch, Manelli and Marie Fel are at St. Quentin. Two other outstanding portraits by La Tour, the *Self-portrait pointing backwards* and *Mlle de la Fontaine Solare de la Boissière*, belong respectively to the Comte Jean de Polignac and M. Arthur Veil-Picard in Paris. The portrait of Laideguive belongs to M. Wildenstein of Paris.

² When Perronneau arrived in a French provincial town he used to send the town crier to announce in the market-place his address and his prices for portraits.

GENRE PAINTING

seen oil-painting *Mme de Sorquainville* (Pl. 57d) and his expressive pastel *Le Comte de Bastard* (Pl. 57b), both in the collection of M. David Weill.¹

iv. Genre Painting

The influence of Rembrandt, already noted in portraits by Rigaud, Nattier and Aved, also appears in the French genre pictures of the eighteenth century. This influence is evident, for example, in the *Jeune fille lisant une lettre* (Pl. 58d) in the Louvre and *Jeune fille et sa grandmère* (Pl. 58b) in the Marseilles Museum, by Jean Raoux (1677-1734), an eclectic artist who also painted decorative pictures, *fêtes galantes* and allegorical portraits; and we see it also in the work of Jean Grimou (1680-1740), who was known as *le Rembrandt français*, though his *Toper* (Pl. 58a) in the Art Museum of Worcester (Mass.) shows us that he had also looked at Judith Leyster and other Dutch painters of that school.²

The paintings by Raoux and Grimou are softer and less categorically descriptive than those of the Dutch genre painters, and they are less profound than those of Louis Le Nain and of Chardin, the outstanding French genre painter of the age and one of the most interesting of the eighteenth-century French artists to the student of to-day.

¹ M. David Weill also has Perronneau's attractive portrait *Mme d'Anglure*. Other French collectors who have good examples of Perronneau's portraits are M. Arthur Veil-Picard, M. Georges Dormeuil, M. André Lazard, and M. Aicard. His portrait of the Countess of Athlone is in a private collection in England. The Louvre has his portrait in oils of *The Painter J. B. Oudry*, and pastels of an old man *Abraham Van Rabais of Abbeville* and of *Mlle Huquier with a kitten*. The St. Quentin Museum has his pastel portrait of *La Tour*. The London National Gallery has two pastels: *A Girl with a cat* and *Madame Legrue*.

² Cf. Pl. 47 in my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, which reproduces Judith Leyster's *Merry Toper* in the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam. Grimou painted a number of genre portraits of himself.



Vienna, Liechtenstein Gallery

J. B. S. CHARDIN
'The Admonition (La Governante)

CHARDIN

v. *Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin*

BORN PARIS 1699. DIED PARIS 1779

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES¹

London.	National Gallery	Still life : Wine bottle, glass and bread, 1754
London.	National Gallery	The Lesson (<i>La petite Maîtresse d'Ecole</i>), ² Salon 1740
Richmond.	Sir Herbert Cook Collection	Laundress with boy blowing bubbles (<i>La Blanchisseuse</i>) ³
Edinburgh.	National Gallery of Scotland	Still life : Kitchen utensils and eggs
Glasgow University.	Hunterian Museum	The Scullery Maid (<i>La Récureuse</i>), Salon 1738
Glasgow University.	Hunterian Museum	The Potman (<i>La Garçon Cabaretier</i>), ⁴ Salon 1738
Glasgow University.	Hunterian Museum	Drinking tea (<i>Une dame prenant son thé</i>), Salon 1739
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Still life : Preparations for a breakfast
New York.	Sir Joseph Duveen	<i>La Mère Laborieuse</i>
New York.	Frick Collection	<i>La Serinette</i> , Salon 1740
New York.	Chester Dale Collection	Still life : Jug and peaches
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	Still life : Kitchen table
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	Still life : Teapot, pear and grapes
Philadelphia.	J. G. Johnson Collection	Old Man with a light
Philadelphia.	J. G. Johnson Collection	Old Woman in a studio
Philadelphia.	J. G. Johnson Collection	Girl Drawing
Philadelphia.	J. G. Johnson Collection	Seven still life pictures
Chicago.	Art Institute	Still life : Joint of meat and other objects

¹ For more complete lists of Chardin's pictures the student is referred to M. Jean Guiffrey's catalogue and to the catalogue contained in Mr. Herbert Furst's *Chardin*.

² The National Gallery of Ireland has a similar picture.

³ There are other versions of this picture in the Stockholm Museum, in the Leningrad Hermitage and in Baron Henri de Rothschild's collection in Paris.

⁴ There are versions of *La Récureuse* and *Le Garçon Cabaretier* in Baron Henri de Rothschild's Collection in Paris.

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Detroit.	Institute of Arts	Still life: Hare and other objects
Paris.	Louvre	Still life (<i>La raie</i>), 1728
Paris.	Louvre	Still life (<i>Le Buffet</i>), 1728
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait of J. A. J. Aved (<i>Le Souffleur</i>), Salon 1737
Paris.	Louvre	<i>L'Enfant au toton</i> , 1738
Paris.	Louvre	<i>Jeune homme au violon</i> , 1738
Paris.	Louvre	<i>La Mère Laborieuse</i> ¹ , 1740
Paris.	Louvre	<i>La Bénédicité</i> , ² Salon 1740
Paris.	Louvre	<i>A monkey as painter</i> , Salon 1740
Paris.	Louvre	<i>Self-portrait</i> (pastel), 1771
Paris.	Louvre	<i>The artist's wife</i> (pastel), 1771
Paris.	Louvre	<i>Twenty still life pictures</i>
Berlin.	Charlottenburg Castle	<i>Lady reading a letter</i> , 1733
Berlin.	Charlottenburg Castle	<i>La Pourvoyeuse</i> , ³ 1738
Berlin.	Kaiser-Friedrich Museum	<i>La Ratisseuse</i> , ⁴ Salon 1739
Berlin.	Kaiser-Friedrich Museum	<i>Le Jeune Dessinateur</i> , Salon 1738
Carlsruhe.	Museum	Five still life pictures
Vienna.	Liechtenstein Gallery	<i>The Admonition</i> (<i>La Gouvernante</i>), Salon 1739
Vienna.	Liechtenstein Gallery	<i>La Garde attentive</i> , Salon 1747
Stockholm.	Museum	<i>Le Dessinateur</i>
Stockholm.	Museum	<i>La Toilette du Matin</i> , Salon 1741
Stockholm.	Museum	<i>Les Amusements de la vie privée</i> , Salon 1746
Stockholm.	Museum	<i>L'Econome</i> ⁵
Stockholm.	Museum	<i>La Fontaine</i> , ⁶ 1733
Leningrad.	Hermitage	<i>Les Tours de Cartes</i> ⁷

¹ There are other versions of this picture in the Stockholm Museum, the Leningrad Hermitage and in Mme Jahan-Marcille's collection in Paris.

² There is a second version of this picture in the *La Caze Collection* in the Louvre and others in the Stockholm Museum and the Leningrad Hermitage.

³ There are other versions in the Louvre, the Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna, in the Schleissheim Castle Museum, and Baron Henri de Rothschild's collection in Paris.

⁴ In the collection of the former reigning Prussian house. There are other versions of this picture in the Munich Alte Pinakothek, and the Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna.

⁵ This picture which was damaged by fire has not been exhibited since 1885.

⁶ There are other versions of this picture in the London National Gallery and in Sir Herbert Cook's collection in Richmond.

⁷ There are other versions of this subject in the Doucet Collection in

CHARDIN

Chardin was the son of a Parisian cabinet-maker and was apprenticed in his youth to various academic painters. Later he was associated, as noted, with the Rembrandt lover, J. A. J. Aved, from whom he acquired an enthusiasm for Dutch painting which lies at the root of his art. In his twenties he began to exhibit at the Place Dauphine.¹ There in 1728 he attracted attention with two large still-life pieces—rather more Flemish than Dutch in technique—*La Raie* and *Le Buffet*, both now in the Louvre. He joined the *Maîtrise* and at the same time applied for election to the Academy where—thanks largely to the enthusiasm of Largillière—he was *agrée* and made a member as *peintre de fleurs, fruits et sujets à caractères* at the age of twenty-nine.²

He now painted the portrait of Aved (Pl. 58c) where we clearly see the influence of the Rembrandt etchings in Aved's collection (which doubtless included the portraits of Jan Uytenbogaert the Remonstrant, of Cornelis Anslo and Arnold Tholinx³), and he began the series of genre pictures of bourgeois life which made his reputation.

The genre pictures consist of (a) studies of children engaged in simple amusements, drawing, building *tours de cartes* and so forth, (b) studies of ladies engaged in recreations, and (c) studies of domestic life—women engaged in household duties or looking after their children. The types overlap in point of time. The Leningrad *Les Tours de Cartes* (Pl. 59) is an example of the first type; *Les Amusements de la vie privée* (Pl. 60a), in Stockholm, is an example of the second; *The Admonition (La Gouvernante)* (Pl. IV), in Vienna, *La Toilette du Matin* (Pl. 61), in Stockholm, *La Récureuse* (Pl 63) and its companion piece *Le Garçon Cabaretier*, in Glasgow, and *Le Bénédicité*, in the Louvre, are examples of the third.

Paris, in the Louvre and in the London National Gallery. The National Gallery of Ireland has a version with two little girls watching a somewhat older boy.

¹ Cf. note, p. 123.

² Largillière, who as noted, was an enthusiast for Flemish art, actually mistook Chardin's pictures for Flemish works of the seventeenth century and he became Chardin's champion when he discovered their authorship.

³ Aved is said to have had a complete set of Rembrandt's etchings, as noted.

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After 1750 Chardin entirely abandoned figure subjects and for the last twenty-five years he painted nothing but still life in which he had always been interested.

Chardin married in 1731. His wife died four years later. In 1744 he remarried. His second wife had small private means but he himself never amassed money and he was happy when in 1754 he was granted a pension by the King and when in 1755 he was given the salaried post of treasurer of the Academy; he was happier still when two years later he was accorded lodgings in the Louvre.

He was a kindly, simple man, much respected by his acquaintance. He lived into the reign of Louis XVI.

Chardin first made his reputation by the genre pictures of domestic subjects which he exhibited in the Academy's Salons. On the appearance of pictures like *La Gouvernante* (Pl. IV), *La Toilette du Matin* (Pl. 61) and *Les Amusements de la vie privée* (Pl. 60a) he was hailed by the dilettanti as a painter of *Tableaux de modes*.¹ His pictures were bought and commissioned for the Royal collections of Russia, Sweden and Prussia, for that of Prince Liechtenstien of Vienna, and for that of Louis XV. They were also bought by a few private French collectors and by one or two in England—including Dr. William Hunter, whose acquisitions are now in the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow.²

But in spite of his success in this field Chardin painted scarcely more than thirty genre subjects; there are less than a hundred genre pictures in his whole *œuvre* and of these two-thirds are

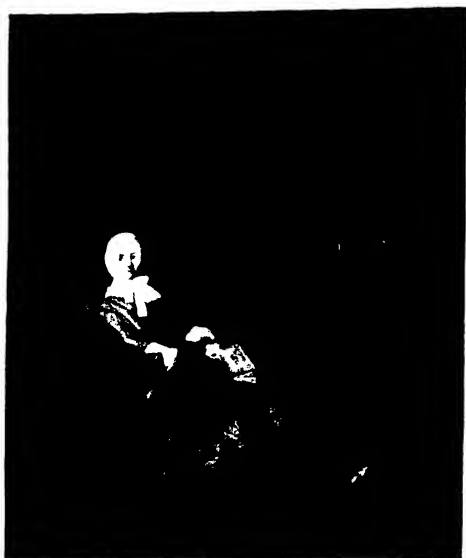
¹ Cf. pp. 165, 166.

² Chardin's fame has suffered various mutations. Widespread in his own day, both in France and other countries, it disappeared in France at the end of the eighteenth century and was not revived till the de Goncourts published their enthusiastic essays in the eighteen-sixties. In England in his own day Chardin was not taken seriously by the Academic artists, though engravings after his works were known; he is not, for example, referred to in the Discourses of Reynolds. He was equally neglected all through the nineteenth century; his name is not mentioned in the thirty-seven volumes of the works of Ruskin; he was overlooked by the brilliant amateurs of French eighteenth-century painting who formed the London Wallace Collection; and he was not represented in the London National Gallery until Lord Savile presented a still life in 1888.



Leningrad. Hermitage

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON CHARDIN. Les Tours de Cartes.



Stockholm. Museum

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON CHARDIN. Les Amusements de la vie privée.



Paris. Louvre

PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAIGNE.

La Mère Catherine Agnes Arnaud et la Sœur Catherine de Sainte-Suzanne.

CHARDIN

replicas, which he exhibited sometimes ten or even twenty years after the original picture.¹

The public which visited the Salons greatly admired Chardin's genre pictures; but they did not buy them—they bought engraved reproductions, for small sums, instead. As I have already pointed out much of Watteau's influence on the art of the eighteenth century had been due to the dissemination of engravings reproducing his work. But in Watteau's case the engravings were made after his death; in the case of Chardin they were made soon after each genre subject was exhibited. They thus represent the beginning of a system which reached a climax in the Victorian age in England when popular artists in the Academy's exhibitions vied with one another to attract the print-buying public and when W. P. Frith, R.A., demanded and received in one case £5250 for a picture with the copyright to engrave, and £1500 in another for the copyright alone.² Chardin, however, was not the man to see the commercial possibilities of this situation; he seems to have made little or no money from engravings after his pictures though there was in fact something like a "craze" for them in his life-time.³

The Salon public admired Chardin's domestic pictures exclusively for their subjects. As a contemporary put it: "*Il ne vient pas là une femme du Tiers état qui ne croie que c'est une idée de sa figure, qui n'y voie son train domestique, ses manières, ses occupations journalières, sa morale, l'humeur de ses enfants, son ameublement, sa garde-robe.*" The publishers of the engravings fully realised the nature

¹ Thus *La Récureuse* was first shown in 1738 and a replica was shown in 1757. *La Bénédicité* was first shown in 1740 and replicas were produced in 1746 and 1761. The replicas, some of which show variations, were presumably painted from first sketches in oils retained in the studio, since Chardin, it is recorded, did not make many or detailed drawings. Herbert Furst suggests in his *Chardin* that he kept the originals painted from nature, and sold replicas sometimes wholly or partly executed by his pupils.

² The sums received by Frith must, of course, be tripled or quadrupled to obtain equivalents in the money of to-day.

³ The "craze" was not restricted to France. Plates after Chardin's pictures were engraved in his day by German and English mezzotinters and an engraving after *Les Tours de Cartes* was given away with *The British Magazine* in January 1762 (though in Academic circles in England Chardin, as noted, was not then admired).

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of their appeal to the *petite bourgeoisie* and they placed descriptive verses beneath the prints to give the subjects additional interest.¹

The still-life pictures to which Chardin devoted himself after the age of fifty did not interest the Salon public as much as his genre pictures had done, and they were not engraved; but they were admired nevertheless as *trompe l'œil* realism.

It is not difficult to project ourselves into the attitude of the French bourgeois admirers of Chardin's work in his own time. We can recapture it by opening the door of any *loge de concierge* in an unpretentious French apartment house to-day. There we can see the concierge herself mending her child's frock, or adjusting it as the child leans against her knee, while the hot-pot simmers on the fire and on the table lie a work-basket, a rabbit, eggs, onions, fruit and cheese. There we can see, and smell, domestic life as it was known to and enjoyed by Chardin's admirers—and indeed by Chardin himself. For Chardin worked and was happy in just such an interior as this. All he asked of life was warmth, sustenance and quiet human company. He lived within four walls and never felt the urge to paint fields or trees; he never even desired to look out at them; you will find no window in any of his domestic pictures.²

¹ Thus under Lepicié's engraving of *La Gouvernante* (*The Admonition*) (Pl. IV), we read:

*Malgré le Minois l'hipocrisie
Et l'Air soumis de cet Enfant,
Je gagerois qu'il prémédite
De retourner à son Volant.*

Under Lepicié's engraving of *Le Bénédicité*:

*La Socur, en tapinois, se rit du petit frère
Qui bégaye son oraison,
Lui, sans s'inquiéter, dépeche sa prière,
Son appétit fait sa raison.*

Under the engraving of *La Toilette du Matin* (Pl. 61) by Le Bas:

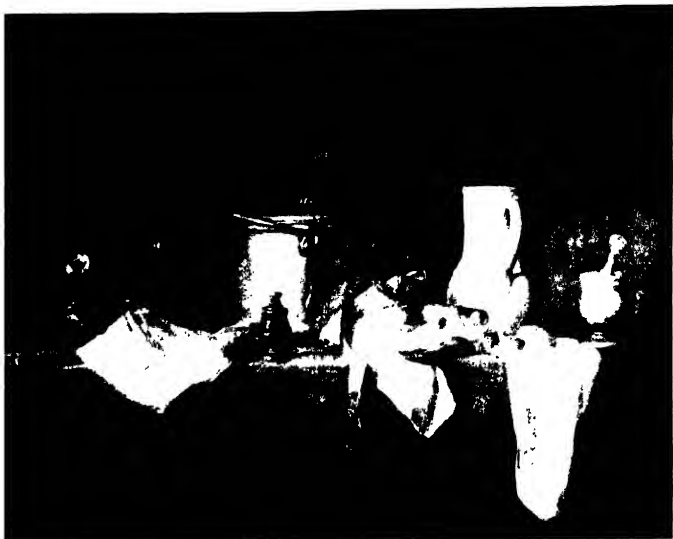
*Avant que la Raison l'éclaire,
Elle prend du Miroir les avis Séduisans
Dans le désir et l'Art de plaire
Les Belles, je le vois, ne sont jamais Enfants.*

² As my knowledge goes there are only two pictures by Chardin which show windows—*La Scrinette* and its companion piece *L'Économe*, and in



Stockholm. Museum

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMEON CHARDIN. La Toilette du Matin.



En ton, Museum of Fine Arts

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON CHARDIN. Still life.



Paris, Wadsworth Atheneum

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON CHARDIN. Still life with Hare.

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The French bourgeois of the eighteenth century divined with pleasure *le père* Chardin himself behind his pictures ; and they took to their hearts this man who obviously cared not a straw if things were left undusted provided that he was not disturbed by cleaning and never harassed by a draught—this good, gentle French bourgeois, for whom it would be a pleasure to prepare the *déjeuner* of *soupe à l'onion*, *omelette*, and *civet de lièvre*.¹

But though we can project ourselves into the minds of Chardin's contemporaries we know now that they only partly understood him as an artist ; we know now that Chardin himself was never exclusively interested in the subjects of his pictures and that in his still-life studies he was not concerned with painting *trompe l'œil* cherries to deceive the birds ; we realise to-day that even the de Goncourts' delightful appreciation of *La Toilette du Matin* (Pl. 61) describes only one aspect of the painter's achievements.²

both these pictures (which belong not to the domestic series but to the earlier series of ladies' recreations) only fragments of the windows are seen in sharp perspective at the side.

In Dutch and English genre interiors, on the other hand, windows and vistas through them are regular features. Even Van Ostade, who painted the most sordid interiors, showed windows which were frequently open.

¹ Compared with Dutch pictures of the same subjects Chardin's interiors are obviously stuffy and dusty. The French taste for small stuffy rooms, which began at this time with the scented boudoirs of the rich, still continues to some extent in all classes. The French have never suffered from the claustrophobia of the English, who are never really happy except in the open air. It is this claustrophobia, of course, which explains the English affection for landscape painting and the prevalence of landscape backgrounds in English portraiture from the time of Hogarth to the present day.

² The de Goncourts wrote of *La Toilette du Matin* : " *L'ombre de la nuit commence à s'en aller de la pièce. Sur la toilette, encombrée de désordre, la chandelle qui a éclairé le lever et le commencement de l'habillement brûle encore, décrivant dans l'air des ronds de fumée. Un peu de jour tombant de la fenêtre, glisse sur le parquet entre-croisé, et va mettre une lueur argentine, là-bas, sur l'encoignure où pose une pendule marquant sept heures. Au-devant de la ventrue bouilloire d'eau chaude, du tabouret portant le gros livre de messe de la maman, la mère en coqueluchon noir, la jupe au retroussis, arrange des deux mains sur la tête de sa fille le nœud de sa fanchon, tandis que la petite, impatiente de sortir, et déjà le manchon à une main, coule de côté les yeux vers la glace, en retournant la tête et en se souriant à demi. Le Dimanche, tout le Dimanche bourgeois, tient dans cette toile.*

THE ACADEMY AND THE SALONS

The developments of French painting at the end of the nineteenth century have taught us to recognise an artist's preoccupation with formal problems for their own sake when we encounter it. We have learned the nature of that preoccupation, and we realise that Chardin when he painted *Les Tours de Cartes* (Pl. 59) was possibly more interested in architectural problems of formal relation than in the genre scene that gives the title to the picture; and that the diagonal movements in the beautifully composed *Amusements de la vie privée* (Pl. 60a) must have given him great satisfaction and delight. This, we now realise, was why Chardin was always so deeply interested in still-life painting and why eventually he abandoned all other subjects in its favour.¹

But Chardin did not push his attitude to its conclusion. If we compare Chardin's *Still life* (Pl. 62a), in the Boston Museum, with some glittering Dutch *trompe l'œil* production, we see how far Chardin has advanced from this elementary goal; but if on the other hand we compare a work by Chardin with Cézanne's *Still life* (Pls. 131a and 131b) we see how much further Cézanne advanced towards the logical conclusion of Chardin's approach.²

vi. *The Academy and the Salons*

The fixed doctrine of Great Art which the Academy had formulated in its early days for Colbert had been challenged, as I

¹ His contemporaries could not understand this. They regarded Chardin as an eccentric, almost as a trifler, who painted, as they said, "*que pour son amusement.*"

² Chardin had a number of followers and imitators who all missed the architectural aspect of his work. The most successful was Michel-Bernard-Nicolas Lepicié, son of François-Bernard Lepicié, who engraved a number of Chardin's pictures. Lepicié's imitations of Chardin's genre pictures stand in the same relation to the originals as Lancret's pictures stand to those of Watteau. He was purely a genre painter. His pictures of children were essentially popular. The Lyons Museum has a little boy crying called *L'Enfant en pénitence* which is characteristic. M. David Weill has a *Petit dessinateur*; there is a picture of the same subject in the Louvre. The London Wallace Collection has *Une femme montrant à lire à une petite fille* and also *Une femme allaitant son enfant* which is one of his best works. In the picture called *La demande accordée* in the Cherbourg Museum Lepicié has imitated Greuze. Chardin's still-life pictures were imitated by Mme Vallayer-Coster (1744-1818).

THE ACADEMY AND THE SALONS

have noted, when the work of Rubens, Rembrandt and other painters of the Low-Country Schools began to exercise a general influence on French painting. But the doctrine, though challenged, had never been officially denied; and early in the eighteenth century it was revived and transformed by the main caucus of the Academicians into the doctrine of the Grand Manner in History-painting—a confused eclectic concept involving indiscriminate imitations of Rubens and the later Italian Masters.¹

All through the eighteenth century the history-painters, who included the painters of decorations with allegorical and mythological subjects, were the most highly-ranked artists in the Academy. Only the history-painters were given the higher offices in the Academy and the professorial posts in its art-school; and when artists like Watteau and Chardin were made Academicians they were specifically described as belonging to a different rank.²

The Grand Manner in History-painting was the sole subject of instruction in the art school, and the Academy's *prix de peinture* were awarded exclusively for history-compositions. The subject when Watteau competed unsuccessfully was *David accordant le pardon de Nobal à Abigail qui lui apporte les vivres*; the subject when Boucher competed was *Evilmérodach fils et successeur de Nabuchodonosor délivrant Joachim des chaînes dans lesquelles son père le retenait depuis longtemps*. The first *prix de peinture*, known as the *Prix de Rome*, carried with it the Academy's authorisation for the journey to Rome and a further course of study in the French Academy in that city.³

¹ Reynolds made a brilliant attempt to disentangle this confused eclectic doctrine in his *Discourses*.

² I have already noted the official designations of Watteau, Chardin, Pater, and Lancret. For the Academy's refusal to admit Greuze to the rank of history-painter, cf. p. 170.

³ Sometimes, when the Academy had funds, the prize also carried a subsidy for the journey. But the Academy's finances in the first half of the century were very precarious and it is probable that funds for the prize-winner's journey were frequently collected from private patrons. To remedy this unsatisfactory situation the King agreed in 1748 to the establishment of *l'École royale des élèves protégés*, a special class under the direction of the Academy to which only the prize winners were admitted; the students in this class were financed by royal scholarships, while they prepared themselves for the visit to Rome by passing examinations in Bossuet's *Histoire Universelle*, Rollin's *Histoire ancienne*, Calmet's *Histoire des Juifs* and the works

THE ACADEMY AND THE SALONS

The Academicians, to justify the Academy's existence, had always, of course, been forced to claim that history-painting was an activity that could be taught and that they themselves were the only people who could teach it; and they had made good this claim by teaching the activity to their own sons and relations who became Academicians in their turn.¹

In this way the Academicians were able to keep the commercial advantages of the Academic monopoly in their own families for several generations; and these commercial advantages were considerable because many lucrative commissions were still being given by churches for paintings in the Jesuit-baroque tradition, and many others, as lucrative, were being given for decorative panels in the financier's new *hôtels*. The Academicians had made it their business to discredit the old *Maîtrise*, which was now regarded as the refuge of the incompetent, and all the commissions in the eighteenth century fell into their hands.²

of Herodotus, Thucydides, Homer, Virgil, Ovid and so forth; if they qualified they received a further royal subsidy in Rome itself. While at the *École des élèves protégés* the students had the privilege of sending a picture each year to Versailles to be inspected by the King and thus had opportunities of finding favour in Court circles.

¹ Thus Louis Boullogne (1609-1674) was followed by his sons Bon Boullogne (1649-1717) and Louis de Boullogne (1654-1733), and two women painters of the same name were made Academicians in 1669; Noël Coypel (1628-1707) was followed by his sons Antoine Coypel (1661-1722), and Nicolas Coypel (1690-1734), and by Antoine's son, Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694-1752); Jacob van Loo (1614-1670) who had come to Paris from Amsterdam in 1662 was followed by Louis-Abraham van Loo (1640-1712), whose sons Jean-Baptiste van Loo (1684-1745) and Carle van Loo (1705-1765) were followed in their turn by Jean-Baptiste's sons Charles-Amédée van Loo (1715-1795) and Louis Michel van Loo (1707-1771), and Carle's son J. C. Denis van Loo (1743-1821).

When the art of painting is conceived as the art of producing a certain kind of picture and as a procedure that can be taught there is nothing to prevent any intelligent person from learning to produce it. This was demonstrated by these dynasties of French Academic history-painters and decorators, and it had been demonstrated before by the popular genre painters in Holland. (Cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, p. 185.)

² Most of these Academic history-painters and decorators appear quite uninteresting to-day. Carle van Loo was undoubtedly competent and he was much respected by his pupils; he departed from the Grand Manner



Glasgow, Hunterian Museum

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON CHARDIN. *La Récurcuse.*



New York - Metropolitan Museum

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER, *The Toilet of Venus.*



Paris - Louvre

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER, *The Bath of Diana.*

THE SALONS

The Salons

The Academy had held one or two Salons in the seventeenth century. It held another in 1704. In 1737 the function became annual; after 1741 it was held every two years. There were no other public exhibitions in Paris at this time except the annual open-air shows on All Saints' Day on the Place Dauphine.¹ The Salons were held in the Louvre and only Academicians and *agréés* were allowed to show their pictures—a condition which continued till the Revolution. To make room for the Salons the magnificent Royal collections of Old Masters were removed from the Louvre and dispersed in various apartments at Versailles where they were not accessible to the public or students, though privileged artists, presumably, could visit them.²

These biennial Salons had far-reaching effects on the history of painting. They created a public which had contact with art for a few hours every two years and which formed its standards from that casual contact; and they induced the artists to covet the approbation of this ill-educated public. Chardin, intent on the solution of his architectural problems, could turn a deaf ear to the Salon public's applause. But Chardin was an exception in his age. His colleagues worked for this new kind of applause and were delighted when they obtained it.

to paint the *Déjeuner de Chasse* (Pl. 54b) for Fontainebleau. Jean François de Troy (1679-1752), who also deserted the Grand Manner to paint the *Déjeuner d'huitres* now at Chantilly (cf. p. 124), was a coarse-minded man as we can see in his *Bathsheba at the Bath* in Angers and he was not above pornographic *double entente* in some of his pictures. Nicolas Coypel's *Innocence et l'Amour* now in the Louvre forestalled all the Venus and Cupid pictures of the English eighteenth-century school. François Le Moyne (1688-1737), who committed suicide, evolved a very attractive recipe for flesh painting which he transmitted to his pupil François Boucher. The work of many of these artists became attractive when it was translated into tapestry at the Gobelins and Beauvais.

¹ Cf. note, p. 123.

² Thus Watteau certainly saw Giorgione's *Concert Champêtre* (cf. note, p. 112). In 1750 as the result of the publication of a protest against the inaccessibility of the Royal collections the King ordered a hundred of his most notable pictures to be transferred to the Luxembourg where, with the Rubens panels, they were on view to the public on two days of the week and to artists on the others.

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER

At the same time the Salons created the professional art critic. The public felt lost in what they regarded as a multitude of pictures though the eighteenth-century Salons only contained about two or three hundred; and professional students of art history and men of letters began to write articles in journals and periodicals and to publish pamphlets to help the more intelligent sections of the public to understand and assess the exhibits and to enable the others to talk about the "pictures of the year."

The most celebrated of the eighteenth-century art critics was Denis Diderot, the philosopher who edited the celebrated *Encyclopædia*. He wrote his first Salon article in 1759 and he continued for twenty years. Diderot as an art critic anticipated Ruskin and Tolstoy. He held that a picture should contribute to public morality and to the appreciation of the domestic virtues. He was a great admirer of Chardin and he praised his still-life paintings for their verisimilitude in representation. But he failed to appreciate Boucher and he was bluffed by Greuze.

vij. François Boucher

BORN PARIS 1703. DIED PARIS 1770

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	Le Billet Doux, 1754
London.	National Gallery	Pan and Syrinx, 1759
London.	Wallace Collection	Shepherd piping to shepherdess, 1745
London.	Wallace Collection	The Modiste (Le Matin), 1746
London.	Wallace Collection	The Visit of Venus to Vulcan, 1754
London.	Wallace Collection	Cupid a captive, 1754
London.	Wallace Collection	Venus and Mars surprised by Vulcan, 1754
London.	Wallace Collection	The Judgement of Paris, 1754
London.	Wallace Collection	Summer and Autumn Pastoral, 1749
London.	Wallace Collection	The Rising of the Sun, 1753
London.	Wallace Collection	The Setting of the Sun, 1753
London.	Wallace Collection	Mme de Pompadour, 1759
London.	Wallace Collection	Jupiter surprising Callisto, 1769
London.	Victoria and Albert Museum	Mme de Pompadour, 1758 (?)
Edinburgh.	National Gallery of Scotland	Mme de Pompadour, c. 1757



Vienna. Baron M. de Rothschild Collection

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER. Mme de Pompadour.



Paris, David Weill Collection

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER. Mme Boucher.



Paris, Louvre

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER. The Bagpipe (La Musette).

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER

Glasgow.	Art Gallery	The Muse of painting, c. 1743
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Toilet of Venus, 1751
New York.	Frick Collection	The Seasons, c. 1751
New York.	Frick Collection	Decorative panels
New York.	Yerkes Collection	The Toilet of Venus
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	The Halt at the Fountain, c. 1749
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	Going to Market, c. 1749
Detroit.	Institute of Arts	The Birth of Venus, c. 1754
Paris.	Louvre	Venus ordering arms for Aeneas from Vulcan, 1732
Paris.	Louvre	Rinaldo and Armida, 1734
Paris.	Louvre	Pastoral decoration (Le nid), 1737
Paris.	Louvre	Pastoral decoration (Les charmes de la vie champêtre), 1737
Paris.	Louvre	Interior with figures (Le Déjeuner), 1739
Paris.	Louvre	The Bath of Diana, 1742
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait of a Young Woman, 1742
Paris.	Louvre	Sleeping Shepherdess, 1743
Paris.	Louvre	The Bagpipe (La Musette), 1753
Paris.	Louvre	The Forge of Vulcan, 1747
Paris.	Louvre	The Rape of Europa, 1747
Paris.	Louvre	The Toilet of Venus, 1749
Paris.	Louvre	Venus disarming Cupid, 1749
Paris.	Louvre	Landscape: The Mill, 1751
Paris.	Louvre	Landscape: The Bridge, 1751
Paris.	Louvre	Venus receiving arms for Aeneas, 1757
Paris.	Louvre	Cephalus and Aurora, 1764
Paris.	Musée Cognacq	La Belle Cuisinière, c. 1737
Paris.	David-Weill Collection	Mme Boucher, 1743
Besançon	Museum	Eight Chinese compositions, 1742 and 1753
Amiens.	Museum	Tiger Hunt, 1737
Amiens.	Museum	Crocodile Hunt, 1738
Amiens.	Museum	Landscape <i>décor</i> for a stage scene
Berlin.		Venus, Mercury and Cupid, 1742
Vienna.	Baron M. de Rothschild Collection	Mme de Pompadour, 1756-1757
Munich.	Alte Pinakothek	Girl on a Sofa, 1752
Stockholm.	Museum	The Birth and Triumph of Venus, 1740
Stockholm.	Museum	The Toilet of Venus, 1740
Stockholm.	Museum	The Modiste (Le Matin), 1745
Stockholm.	Museum	Leda, 1760 or 1769
Leningrad.	Hermitage	The Rest on the Flight into Egypt

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER

François Boucher was the most clear-headed of the French eighteenth-century Academicians. He reduced the prevailing chaotic concepts of the Grand Manner to a simple decorative formula and within that formula he produced most admirable results.

Boucher's father, one of the despised painters of the *Maitrise*, apprenticed him at the age of seventeen or earlier to François Le Moyne who had just become an Academician. Boucher is said to have remained only a few months with Le Moyne but he learned from him an attractive system of flesh colouring, as I have already noted. From Le Moyne he went to the studio of the engraver Jean-François Cars, where he became an expert engraver and designer of book illustrations and decorations; and he soon attracted the attention of Jullienne who commissioned him to engrave a number of plates in the Watteau series.¹ At the age of twenty-one he competed for and won the Prix de Rome, and three years later he went to Italy where he looked at the pictures of the Italian masters purely in relation to the work which he himself was intending to do later.²

Back in Paris, in 1731, he secured election to the Academy with his *Rinaldo and Armida*, now in the Louvre (which was influenced I fancy by Titian's *Diana and Actæon* now at Bridge-water House, London, but then in the Palais Royal), and he began to develop his own style in decorative pastorals and allegories and also in genre.

Le Nid and *Les charmes de la vie champêtre* (commissioned at

¹ Cf. note, p. 108.

² He went to Venice and saw the works of Titian and Veronese and also of Tiepolo who was then about thirty-five and already hailed in Venice as the heir to the great Venetian decorative tradition. In Rome he evidently studied the *Rape of Europa* (now in the Colonna Gallery) by Francesco Albani (1578-1660) whose works in the French Royal collection, *The Toilet of Venus* and *Venus and Vulcan*, may already have been known to him. (For Albani's influence on Dutch art and notably on Van Poelenburgh, cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, pp. 146-147.)

Boucher saw at once that by studying Raphael and Michelangelo he could only be diverted from his own aim and he accordingly avoided their works. Years later when Fragonard went to see him before leaving for Italy he warned him that with his particular talent he must also pay no attention to Raphael and Michelangelo. "*Je te le dis en confidence amicale,*" he said to Fragonard, "*si tu prends ces gens-là au sérieux tu es f... .*"

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this period by Louis XV for Fontainebleau and now in the Louvre) are characteristic of his pastoral style which is also seen in *La Musette* (Pl. 66b), painted some years later as an overdoor.

The allegorical style appears in the Stockholm *Birth and Triumph of Venus* and the charming *Bath of Diana* (Pl. 64b), now in the Louvre, where Boucher's graceful formula for the female figure is already perfected.

The genre style appears in one aspect in *La Belle Cuisinière* (now in the Musée Cognacq in Paris) where the boy and girl actors of the pastoral decorations act the same charade in a kitchen; and in another aspect in the Louvre *Le Déjeuner* and the Stockholm *The Modiste (Le Matin)* which were probably influenced by engravings after Hogarth.¹

To these genre paintings we must assimilate M. David Weill's *Mme Boucher* (Pl. 66a), a dainty portrait of his young wife.²

Boucher painted in these various categories all his life and at the same time he produced landscapes (there are two in the Louvre) and he made drawings and a number of designs for scenery and costumes in the theatres.³

¹ Cf. the admirable catalogue of the Wallace Collection where there is a smaller version of *The Modiste*.

² Boucher had married at the age of thirty in 1733. His wife, who was of a bourgeois family, was then seventeen and she was twenty-seven when this portrait was painted. Mme Boucher, who probably sat for *Le Déjeuner*, was herself an amateur artist, and the Glasgow *Muse of Painting* which depicts a young woman with an artist's palette may also have been painted from her. Boucher did not long remain faithful. He was very promiscuous, but there is no evidence that he ever cared for any other woman. Incessantly occupied with his prolific artistic production he amused himself for brief hours with professional girl models, who had now appeared in the Parisian art world (cf. p. 113) and professional light women whom he did not admit into his life.

Mme Boucher is said to have consoled herself with the Swedish Ambassador, the Comte de Tessin, who bought Boucher's *Birth and Triumph of Venus* from the Salon of 1740 and commissioned *The Modiste* which was to typify "Morning" in a series of pictures representing different hours of the day.

³ The scenery at the Opera, which at this time was in the Palais Royal, was in the hands of the celebrated Servandoni who designed the most fantastic *rocaille* and Chinese "sets," with ingenious effects of lighting, for sixty operas. Boucher worked with him and designed the scenery and

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At the beginning of the seventeen-forties he was presented to Mme de Pompadour, then Mme Lenormand d'Etiolles, and for many years he was her favourite artist. He painted her portrait (Pl. 65) on several occasions, and he designed the scenery and costumes for the private theatricals with which she entertained the King. For her Château at Bellevue he devised a Chinese boudoir and a bedroom decorated with panels of *mythologie galante*; for her bathroom he painted the *Toilet of Venus*, possibly the picture now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Pl. 64a); and for her chapel he painted an *Adoration of the Shepherds*.¹

In addition to his other work Boucher was incessantly occupied all his life with the painting of pictures to be translated into tapestry at the Gobelins and Beauvais factories of which he became Director in 1755 on the death of Oudry with whom he had worked for a number of years.²

costumes for the *Indes Galantes* in 1743 and for other performances in 1746 and 1747. In 1752 Boucher designed for the Opéra Comique which was then a theatre erected at the Saint Laurent Fair. In 1754 he designed for a theatre at the Saint Germain Fair. In 1764 when Servandoni left the Opera to execute still more elaborate scenic effects at the *Théâtre des Tuileries*, he designed a further series of productions for the Opera. The Museum at Amiens has one of his theatrical designs—a landscape *décor*.

¹ As already noted (cf. p. 142), altar-pieces and decorations were painted for churches all through the eighteenth century in spite of the religious scepticism of the fashionable world. Boucher painted a number of religious subjects including a *Nativity* also for Mme de Pompadour, which was shown in the Salon of 1748. I have not been able to discover the present whereabouts of this *Nativity* or of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*. The Leningrad Hermitage has his *Rest on the Flight* where the sacred characters are surrounded by lambs which seem to have escaped from one of his pastoral decorations, and angels indistinguishable from his habitual Cupids.

² J.-B. Oudry (1686-1755) was an able painter who excelled at depicting hunting scenes with dogs etc., in the Flemish tradition of Snyders which had appeared in French eighteenth-century painting in the work of Desportes (cf. p. 93). Louis XV was devoted to hunting, and Oudry, who designed upholstery for furniture and a whole series of large tapestries, *Les Chasses de Louis XV*, was his favourite painter. His genre landscape work was also much admired by the Queen. Cf. note, p. 171.

In 1736 Oudry issued commissions for a series of exotic hunting tapestries to be executed at Beauvais, and Boucher produced for the purpose in 1737 and 1738 the *Chasse au tigre par les Turcs* and *Chasse au crocodile* now in the Amiens Museum where we can also see three others of the series: the

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The brilliant *Rising of the Sun* and *Setting of the Sun*, which Boucher himself considered his finest pictures, were intended for Gobelins tapestries ; but the tapestries were never executed and Mme de Pompadour obtained the pictures for her collection. They were painted in 1753 when he was at the height of his powers and they were followed the next year by the four celebrated panels *The Visit of Venus to Vulcan*, *Cupid a Captive* (Pl. 114a) 114a), *Venus and Mars surprised by Vulcan* and the *Judgement of Paris* which were painted for Mme de Pompadour's boudoir at the Hôtel de l'Arsenal and intended for the special entertainment of Louis XV.¹

At the apex of his career Boucher was *Premier peintre du roi* and Director of the Academy. He had a studio in the Louvre where he kept a collection of prints, including twenty etchings by Rembrandt, and other collections of bronzes, porcelain, shells, butterflies and all kinds of precious and semi-precious stones. He was a very amiable man and very accessible and kind to students. He was the first artist to exhibit red and black drawings of heads, nudes and so forth in the Salon, and they proved so great a success that they aroused the jealousy of the print-sellers.

In his old age he suffered from the change in public taste

Chasse à l'autruche par les Turcs by Carle van Loo, the *Chasse au lion* by de Troy and the *Chasse au lion et au tigre en Chine* by Pater. These pictures which anticipate the work of Delacroix (cf. Pl. 85), were originally in the *petits appartements* or *cabinets* at Versailles together with Lancret's *Déjeuner de jambon* and the feasting pictures by de Troy. Boucher also painted, for Beauvais tapestry, a series of Chinese subjects now preserved in the Museum at Besançon; these compositions represent a Chinese Marriage, a Chinese Dance, an audience with the Emperor of China, fishing in China and so forth.

The colour in Boucher's pictures eventually became rather mechanical as a result of this continual painting for tapestry. But the tapestries gained because he tended more and more to use colours which corresponded with the dyes.

The effect of his association with Oudry is seen in *The Bath of Diana* (Pl. 646) where the dogs, probably painted from a drawing supplied by that artist, rather destroy the unity of an otherwise perfectly unified picture.

¹ These panels were objected to, as indecent, by Louis XVI; after various travels they were acquired by Lord Hertford and they now hang in the Wallace Collection where the *Rising of the Sun* and the *Setting of the Sun* with ten other pictures by Boucher create a gay and brilliant pageant on the walls of the Grand Stair.

FRANÇOIS BOUCHER

which caused the success of Greuze¹; and Diderot in his accounts of the Salons attacked him in terms which would not be tolerated in art criticism to-day.²

Boucher's production was enormous. He painted hundreds of pictures and made over ten thousand drawings. His work is the result of a brilliant cold intelligence which achieved a graceful and consistent stylisation of the human figure considered as a unit in a decorative design. Boucher in his finest decorations is a master of scale; the units which compose his pictures are not only architecturally satisfactory in scale in relation to one another but they are also satisfactory in relation to the units of scale in *rocaille* architecture and furniture. His paintings must not be judged as easel pictures; they must be judged as part of the *ensemble* of a room decorated in the Louis XV style.³

¹ Cf. pp. 168-170.

² Of Boucher's exhibits in the Salon of 1765, when he was over sixty, Diderot wrote: *Je ne sais que dire de cet homme-ci. La dégradation du goût, de la couleur, de la composition, des caractères, . . . a suivi la dépravation des mœurs. . . . Que peut avoir dans l'imagination un homme qui passe sa vie avec les prostituées du plus bas étage? . . . J'ose dire que cet homme ne sait vraiment ce que c'est que la grâce; j'ose dire qu'il n'a jamais connu la vérité; j'ose dire que les idées de délicatesse, d'honnêteté, d'innocence, de simplicité, lui sont devenues presque étrangères; j'ose dire qu'il n'a pas vu un instant la nature, du moins celle qui est faite pour intéresser mon âme, la vôtre. . . . Toutes ses compositions font aux yeux un tapage épouvantable: c'est le plus mortel ennemi du silence que je connaisse. . . . Dans toute cette innombrable famille, vous n'en trouverez pas un à employer aux actions réelles de la vie, à étudier sa leçon, à lire, à écrire, à tiller du chanvre.*

The words "*c'est le plus mortel ennemi du silence*" intended to contrast Boucher's art with that of Chardin which, as noted, Diderot admired (cf. p. 142), are the only words of valuable art criticism in the passage.

³ It is important to remember that pictures in Louis XV rooms were generally hung either above the panels (which often contained mirrors) or over the doors. This explains the vogue of Nattier's decorative portraits and also the character of certain paintings by Fragonard (cf. note, p. 161). When a picture by Boucher was placed on a level with the eye it never had its own frame within the panel but filled the whole panel and was framed by it; if Boucher had used Watteau's scale of decorative units his paintings would have made the *rocaille* motifs in the architecture and furniture look coarse.

LA POMPADOUR

viii. *La Pompadour and La du Barry*

Mme de Pompadour was interested in art. As Mme Lenormand d'Etiolles, before she met the King, she had her salon where she entertained artists and men of letters; and she was herself an amateur artist and took lessons in drawing and engraving from Boucher.

Her name is so much associated with the *rocaille* style that it is sometimes assumed that she was responsible for its success. But, as I have noted, the style was already launched in the Regency; and by the middle of the century its flamboyant excesses—especially as vulgarised in stage decoration—were the object of hostile criticism among people of taste.

Mme de Pompadour, in fact, played a part in the campaign against the excesses of *rocaille*, and her influence was used to assist the return to the appreciation of antique art which began about this time.¹

In 1749 she sent her brother, who was later made Marquis de Marigny, to Italy to study classical architecture and antique remains. Marigny was accompanied by Nicolas Cochin, engraver and official designer of ceremonies and spectacles at the French Court, who was a bitter opponent of *rocaille* and published pamphlets against it; and when Marigny returned to Paris and became *Surintendant des Bâtiments*—(an office which still represented the central official patronage of art as in the time of Colbert)—the classical style known as “Louis XVI” was virtually launched. Before Mme de Pompadour died in 1764 the Parisian architects were beginning to build and to make furniture in this style, and in the fashionable world the classical and Pompeian styles were so popular that even jewellery and

¹ The fashionable world in Paris was much interested in the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii which began in 1748 and brought to light many objects used in daily life by the “ancients” of a kind then unknown; and there was much discussion of various compilations relating to ancient art produced by Mariette and de Caylus (whom we have met as Watteau’s friends) and of Winckelmann’s *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke* which was published in 1754 and translated into French. When Winckelmann published his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* ten years later it was also widely read in France.

LA DU BARRY

snuff-boxes and the coiffures of fashionable women were "*à la Grecque*." The craze for imitating the "ancients" which culminated in the *Directoire* and Empire styles, thus really began in the last quarter of the reign of Louis XV.

Mme de Pompadour's taste in pictures is revealed by her appreciation of Boucher. She regarded the Academicians' Grand Manner in History-painting as tiresome and expressed her opinion to the artists themselves. But in Boucher she recognised a real stylist ; and a mind as clear and free from scruples as her own.

This is not the place to describe the character of this dominating woman. But I must draw attention to the aspects of her personality with which, we learn from her portraits, she desired posterity to be acquainted.

La Tour's pastel portrait, now in the Louvre, was painted when she was thirty-four and had already been the King's mistress for ten years. Here she holds a sheet of music in her hand, a viola is on a chair behind her, a portfolio of drawings is at her feet, and on a table by her side stand Diderot's *Encyclopædia*, Voltaire's "*Ilenriade*" and other books together with an engraving signed *Pompadour sculpsit*.

Boucher's full-length portrait (Pl. 65), which belongs to Baron Maurice de Rothschild, was painted the year after. In this she sits surrounded with objects of the finest contemporary craftsmanship ; behind her a mirror reflects her book-case surmounted with a clock ; her official seal lies on the table by her side ; a portfolio and her drawing crayon are on the floor at her feet ; she has just looked up from her book and like her pet spaniel she has resigned herself to sit for her portrait.

It is clear that La Pompadour desired us to remember her as a woman of parts.

Mme du Barry

Louis XV spent vast sums of public money on the encouragement of Mme de Pompadour's culture and pleasures and on the series of her luxurious establishments. He did the same to support the extravagance of Mme du Barry, who had no culture to speak of, but who was much prettier than La Pompadour as



Paris. David Weill Collection

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD. Les Pins de la Villa Pamphili (drawing).



La Fontaine d'Amour

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD. *La Fontaine d'Amour*.

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD

can be seen from her portrait (Pl. 75a) by Mme Vigée le Brun.¹

For Mme du Barry the architect Ledoux added a pavilion in the purest "Louis XVI" style to the Château de Louveciennes; and the finest productions of the French craftsmen found their way to Louveciennes and the new favourite's establishments in Paris.²

In her early days, as a shop assistant, Mme du Barry had come into contact with an artist in the person of Mlle Adélaïde Labille the portrait painter.³ She now began to acquire pictures. She bought Van Dyck's great full-length portrait of *Charles I* (now in the Louvre) which she described as a *portrait de famille* because some Dubarrys were related to some Stuarts. She also acquired the celebrated *Cruche cassée* (now in the Louvre) by Greuze, and a nude, which she kept curtained, by Van Poelenburg⁴; she commissioned François-Hubert Drouais (1727-1775), a fashionable portrait painter and follower of Boucher, to paint overdoors at Louveciennes and to paint her portrait; and finally she commissioned a series of panels from an artist then known as "*le petit Frago*" in the world of Parisian fashion and pleasure.

ix. Jean-Honoré Fragonard

BORN GRASSE 1732. DIED PARIS 1806

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	The Happy Mother, 1785-1795
London.	Wallace Collection	The Gardens of the Villa d'Este (Le Petit Parc), 1760
London.	Wallace Collection	The Souvenir (Le Chiffre d'Amour), 1762-1767

¹ Cf. pp. 174-176.

² As Lavissee puts it: "*Elle aimait les meubles en bois blanc satiné, ornés de tableaux de porcelaine, les meubles garnis de bronze doré, les commodes plaquées en ébène, les étagères de laque, les étoffes riches, les bibelots rares, les ivoires, les biscuits de Sèvres, les miniatures et les camées. Chaque matin, à sa toilette, défilaient les fournisseurs, des joailliers . . . les couturières . . . des marchands d'étoffes, des marchands de dentelles . . . les coiffeurs . . . Elle faisait la mode à Paris et dans toute l'Europe.*"

³ Cf. p. 173.

⁴ Cf. note, p. 146.

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD

London.	Wallace Collection	The Fountain of Love (La Fontaine d'Amour), 1762-1767
London.	Wallace Collection	The Swing (L'Escarpolette), 1765-1796
London.	Wallace Collection	A boy as Pierrot, 1765-1772
London.	Wallace Collection	A young scholar, 1775-1777
London.	Wallace Collection	The Schoolmistress (Dites donc, s'il vous plaît), c. 1783
New York.	J. S. Bache Collection	La Cascade, 1760
New York.	J. S. Bache Collection	L'Allée ombragée, 1760
New York.	E. R. Bacon Collection	Le Serment d'Amour ¹ , 1762-1767
New York.	H. C. Frick Collection	Le Rendez-vous (L'Escalade), 1770-1772
New York.	H. C. Frick Collection	La Poursuite (La Surprise), 1770-1772
New York.	H. C. Frick Collection	Les Souvenirs (Les Confidences), 1770-1772
New York.	H. C. Frick Collection	L'Amant Couronné, 1770-1772
New York.	H. C. Frick Collection	L'Abandon, 1770-1772
Detroit.	Institute of Arts	Aurora (Decorative sketch), 1753-1756
Paris.	Louvre	Le grand prêtre Coréus se sacrifie pour sauver Callirhoé. Salon 1765
Paris.	Louvre	Le Vœu à l'Amour, ² 1762-1767
Paris.	Louvre	La Leçon de Musique, 1768-1771
Paris.	Louvre	Bacchante Endormie, 1775-1780
Paris.	Louvre	La Chemise enlevée, 1765-1772
Paris.	Louvre	Baigneuses, 1765-1772
Paris.	Louvre	La Musique, 1769 or 1775-1779
Paris.	Louvre	L'Etude, 1769 or 1775-1779
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait de fantaisie, 1769 or 1778-1779
Paris.	Louvre	L'Inspiration, 1769 or 1775-1779
Paris.	Cognac Museum	L'heureuse Fécondité, 1775-1780
Paris.	Jacquemart André Museum	Le Début du modèle, 1766-1769
Paris.	D. Weill Collection	La lettre, 1775-1776
Paris.	D. Weill Collection	Taureau blanc à l'étable, 1775-1780
Paris.	D. Weill Collection	L'Inutile résistance, 1775-1780

¹ There is another version of this picture in the Tours Museum.

² This is a sketch for the picture in the Orléans Museum.



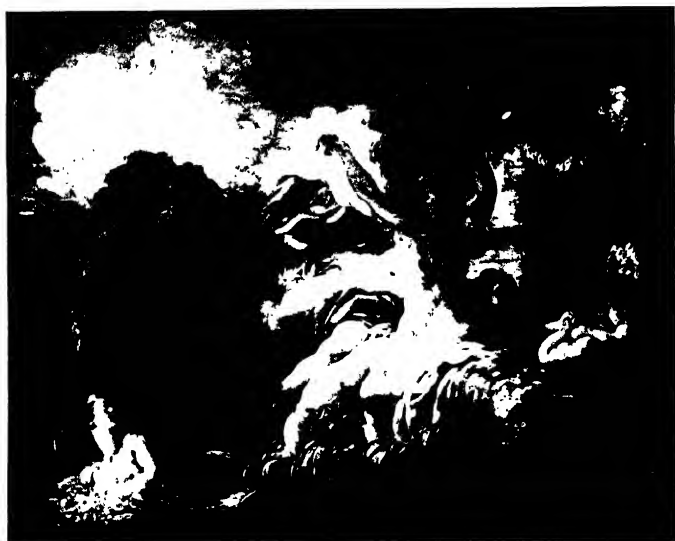
New York. Frick Collection

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD. *Les Souvenirs (Les Confidences)*.



Paris, *Duch-Wall Collection*

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD. *Les Pétards* (drawing).



Paris, *Louvre*

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD. *Baigneuses*.

FRAGONARD'S LIFE

Paris.	D. Weill Collec- tion	Le rêve du sculpteur, 1775-1780
Paris.	D. Weill Collec- tion	Les pins à la villa Pamphili (Drawing), 1760
Paris.	D. Weill Collec- tion	Danse des enfants dans le parc (Drawing), 1760-1762
Paris.	D. Weill Collec- tion	Les pétards (Drawing), 1765-1769
Paris.	D. Weill Collec- tion	Danac (Drawing), 1762-1769
Paris.	D. Weill Collec- tion	Le Maître de danse or Qu'en dit l'Abbé (Drawing), 1775-1780
Paris.	Charley Collection	Jeune fille à la fontaine, 1752-1756
Paris.	Banque de France	La Fête de St. Cloud, 1767-1776
Paris.	Wildenstein Col- lection	Sketch for Le Verrou, 1762-1769
Paris.	Pillet-Will Col- lection	La Main Chaude, 1767-1776
Paris.	Pillet-Will Col- lection	Le Cheval fondu, 1767-1775
Grasse.	Cathedral	Le Sauveur lavant les pieds à ses apôtres, 1755
Amiens.	Museum	Le Berceau, 1775-1780
Amiens.	Museum	Les Lavandières, 1773
Besançon	Museum	Mme Fragonard (Drawing), c. 1790
Lille.	Museum	Adoration des Bergers, 1753-1756 or 1766-1769
Leningrad.	Hermitage	The Stolen Kiss (Le Baiser à la dérobée), 1762-1769
Leningrad.	Hermitage	La Famille du Fermier, 1775-1779
India.	H. H. Gackwar of Baroda Collection	Le Verrou, 1762-1769

(a) *Fragonard's Life*

Jean-Honoré Fragonard, son of a merchant of Grasse, was brought at the age of fifteen to Paris by his father who had lost most of his money in bad investments. Articled to a notary he showed no talent for law but considerable talent for drawing, and he was taken to Boucher who recommended him to apprentice himself to Chardin. After a period in Chardin's *atelier* he again showed his work to Boucher who now employed him as an assistant. In 1752, at the age of twenty, he won the Academy's *Prix de Rome* and entered the *école des élèves protégés* ;

FRAGONARD'S LIFE

and in 1754 and 1755, according to custom, he sent pictures to Versailles to be inspected by the King.¹

In 1756 he went, with a royal scholarship, to Rome, where after two years in the French Academy, he met Jean-Claude de Saint-Non, a rich Abbé who preferred the rôle of amateur engraver and patron of the arts to a career in the world of politics or the Church, and who chanced at this time to be in Rome. Saint-Non adopted Fragonard as his protégé and invited him to the Villa d' Este, at Tivoli, which had been lent him by the Modenas who then owned it; at the same time he invited Hubert Robert, another artist, who was Fragonard's friend.²

Fragonard was Saint-Non's guest for a year or more; and at his expense he visited Venice, where he studied Tiepolo's works (as Boucher had done), and Naples where he studied the decorations of Solimena (1657-1747) which were greatly admired at the time.

In 1761 he returned to Paris and he was made an Academician and given a studio in the Louvre for *Le grand prêtre Corésus se sacrifie pour sauver Callirhoé* (now in the Louvre), which was a "picture of the year" in the Salon of 1765 and was bought by Marigny as *Surintendant des Bâtiments* for translation into tapestry at the Gobelins. But though bought, the picture was not paid for, and Fragonard was completely without money. He began, therefore, to paint little pictures of *sujets galants et grivois* which appealed to rich people—though the artist's friends regarded them as lamentable "pot-boilers."³

About this time he executed some commissions for ecclesiastical pictures⁴ and others for decorations in private *hôtels*; and

¹ Cf. note, p. 141. The 1754 picture was a subject from the story of Psyche, the other was *Le Sauveur lavant les pieds à ses apôtres*, now in the Cathedral at Grasse. These pictures may have attracted the attention of Mme de Pompadour (cf. note, p. 161).

² Cf. p. 172, and Pl. 73.

³ Fragonard was kept waiting eight years for payment for his *Corésus*. One of his friends wrote to Marigny imploring him to make a payment on account because owing to the delay the artist was "*obligé de se livrer à des ouvrages peu conformes à son génie*." Diderot referring to Fragonard in 1769 wrote: "*On prétend que l'appât du gain l'a détourné d'une belle carrière et qu'au lieu de travailler pour la gloire et la postérité, il se contente de briller dans les boudoirs et les garde-robres*."

⁴ The Lille Museum has his *Adoration des Bergers*.

FRAGONARD'S LIFE

then good fortune again appeared in the person of the immensely rich financier, Bergeret de Grancourt, Trésorier général de la généralité de Montauban, collector and amateur artist, who became his friend and protector. The next step was the decoration of apartments in the luxurious hôtels of fashionable kept women, and Fragonard now became a well-known figure in a world of fantastic pleasure and extravagance, and *persona grata* with the most celebrated of these women—the dancer La Guimard.¹

Meanwhile the family Gérard, unsuccessful perfumers of Grasse, who had some connection with his own family, had sent him as a pupil Marie-Anne Gérard, aged seventeen, who showed talent for miniature painting—just as the Pater family of Valenciennes had sent Pater to Watteau; and in 1769 when he was thirty-eight he found himself hesitating between marriage with Marie-Anne Gérard and the continuation of a life where he would pass as *amant de cœur* from one kept woman to another. He chose respectability and a quiet life; and he married Mlle Gérard in that year.

Thus protected he accepted and executed two important commissions in the next three years. The first was a series of panels for La Guimard, with whom he quarrelled before the work was completed. The second was a series of panels in the Pavillon de Louveciennes commissioned by Mme du

¹ Of La Guimard, Portalis (cf. note, p. 159) writes: "*Elle avait trois soupers différents par semaine, l'un composé des premiers seigneurs de la cour, l'autre d'auteurs et d'artistes, 'qui viennent amuser cette Muse' . . . Au troisième, véritable orgie, étaient invitées les filles les plus séduisantes, les plus lascives . . . Les parades de son théâtre de Pantin, célèbres par leur grivoiserie, n'étaient pas moins suivies. Les plus jolies filles de Paris y venaient avec les adorateurs, et si une honnête femme s'y glissait par curiosité, ce n'était qu'en loge grillée.*"

La Guimard was a light and agile dancer but in figure too thin for the taste of the time. "*Il ne lui manque,*" it was said, "*que des grâces plus arrondies dans certaines parties—de son rôle.*" When Fragonard met her she was the mistress of the Prince de Soubise, who employed the architect Ledoux (who was about to build the Pavillon de Louveciennes for Mme du Barry) to build her a hôtel in Paris. Later when La Guimard's fortunes waned she organised a public lottery for the hôtel and all the objects of luxury (including the paintings by Fragonard and Louis David, cf. p. 158) which it contained. Though many people doubtless bought large numbers of tickets the winner was a lady of fashion who had bought only one.

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Barry who refused to hang them when they were completed.¹

In 1773 Fragonard and his wife were taken by Bergeret de Grancourt on a tour in Italy, Austria and Germany. The journey lasted about nine months and Fragonard was back in Paris at the end of the following year.²

His establishment in the Louvre now consisted of himself, his wife, a daughter of four, and his wife's sister Marguerite Gérard, aged thirteen, who had come from Grasse soon after his marriage. A son was born in 1780. In the period between 1774 and the Revolution he used his own family as models for genre pictures, and he developed an *amitié amoureuse* with Marguerite Gérard when she grew up and became successively his pupil, his assistant, and a genre artist winning successes of her own. After 1767 Fragonard made no attempt to secure official patronage or the applause of the general public by exhibiting in the Salons. He exhibited his work in his own studio where he sold from the easel. He was thus the first eighteenth-century painter who defied the Academicians.³

When Fragonard quarrelled with La Guimard and left his panels unfinished an ambitious young artist, Louis David, asked and obtained his permission to complete them. This gesture on the part of Fragonard stood him in good stead when the Revolution arrived; for David, then art-dictator, protected

¹ For this refusal cf. p. 162. Mme du Barry hung in their place a series of panels by Vien (cf. note, p. 181 and p. 183).

² The company travelled in two coaches. The first contained Bergeret and a mysterious lady (said to be Mme Bergeret's *femme de chambre* whom he married after Mme Bergeret's death) and Fragonard with his wife; the second contained Bergeret's son and a *chef*; Bergeret's valet and his son's man travelled ahead as couriers.

Bergeret kept a diary of this tour which is most entertaining. Extracts are given by Portalis (cf. note, p. 159) and also in *Fragonard*, by Virgile Josz. At the end of the journey there was friction between Fragonard and his host and when they returned to Paris Fragonard brought an action against him to obtain possession of a number of drawings which Bergeret had retained. Bergeret lost the action and crossed out of his diary all flattering references to Fragonard whom he now described as a poltroon. Later the two men were again on terms of friendship.

³ Greuze who abstained from the Academy after 1769 was the second. (cf. p. 170).



Paris. David Weill Collection

JEAN-HONORÉ FRAGONARD. *La Lettre.*



Paris, David Weill Collection

JEAN HONORÉ FRAGONARD, *La Résistance Inutile*.



London, Wallace Collection

JEAN HONORÉ FRAGONARD, *The Schoolmistress*.

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him. Thanks to David he was allowed to retain his studio in the Louvre and he was appointed *Président du Conservatoire* of the *Muséum national des arts* which the Revolutionary Government had established.¹

He had made a good deal of money by his pictures. But when the *rentes sur l'Etat* were reduced his income became almost nothing, and though he made efforts to paint pictures in the prevailing spirit he was too old to secure success in a new field.

In 1806 Napoleon suppressed all the artists' lodgings in the Louvre; and Fragonard had to leave the studio which he had occupied for forty years and move his family and property elsewhere. He was then seventy-four. He died the same year of cerebral congestion after eating an ice in a café when he was hot from a long walk.

(b) *Fragonard's Œuvre*²

Fragonard before his first journey to Italy was an imitator of Boucher. In Italy, as Saint-Non's guest, he drew monuments and ruins, and the gardens of the Italian villas, and he

¹ David recommended him in a report which said: "*Fragonard a pour lui de nombreux ouvrages; chaleur et originalité, c'est ce qui le caractérise; à la fois connaisseur et grand artiste, il consacra ses vieux ans à la garde des chefs d'œuvre dont il a concouru dans sa jeunesse à augmenter le nombre*" (cf. p. 183).

² The recorded works of Fragonard consist of about five hundred paintings, a thousand drawings, and some miniatures, illustrations and etchings. It is difficult, if not indeed impossible, to ascertain the present whereabouts of many of these pictures and a certain number have completely disappeared. The dates of a few works are fixed; the exact chronology of the others is a matter of conjecture.

The de Goncourts produced the first modern account of his work in 1865. The Baron de Portalis published his splendid *Fragonard, sa vie et son œuvre* with a detailed catalogue in 1889; but there are very few dates in his catalogue and many of the pictures have changed hands since his time. I am not acquainted with any later book which gives a list of the present whereabouts of all the existing pictures with a reasoned chronology; de Nolhac's "*Fragonard*" merely gives a list of pictures which have changed hands at sales and suggests no reasoned detailed chronology.

My list of Characteristic Pictures above gives the present whereabouts of some fifty pictures; the dates represent my conception of the artist's development as submitted in the text.

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painted a few pictures of similar subjects. The style of his work at this period shows the influence of Claude, as can be seen in the delicately formalised drawing *Les Pins à la Villa Pamphili* (Pl. 67) which is now in M. David Weill's collection.¹

In Paris between 1762 and 1769 he produced a series of pictures that can be grouped round the Academy success of 1765, *Le grand prêtre Corésus se sacrifie pour sauver Callirhoé*. The drawing in the *Corésus* is rather simple and severe with few of the impetuous curves which characterise his later drawing. We find the relatively severe drawing in all the pictures that I group round the *Corésus*. We also find, in all of them, the use of the same models and the same studio properties.

For the *Corésus* the models used were a tall blonde girl and a rather short young man with curly hair;² and it is clear that the studio at this time contained a wreath of artificial flowers which appears on the heads of all the principal figures.

The girl model appears in the Wallace Collection *Le Souvenir* (a picture which suggests that Fragonard was acquainted with engravings after Reynolds), and both models appear in *Le Baiser à la dérobée* (Pl. IV) known as *The Stolen Kiss* (now in the Hermitage, Leningrad); in *Le Verrou* (now in the collection of H.H. the Gackwar of Baroda), and the sketch for it in the Wildenstein Collection in Paris; in the Wallace Collection *La Fontaine d'Amour* (Pl. 68) where the figures wear the *Corésus* wreath; in two of the Frick Collection panels painted for Mme du Barry, *L'Abandon* and *Les Souvenirs* (Pl. 69); and in *Le Contrat* which was a pendant to *Le Verrou*.³

In addition to the *Corésus* wreath the studio properties at this time included a little round table (which is seen in *Le Baiser à la dérobée* and was converted into the altar in the *Corésus*) and a white satin dress which the model wears in *Le Baiser à la dérobée* (Pl. IV), *Le Verrou*, *Le Contrat*, *L'Abandon* and *Les Souvenirs* (Pl. 69). A home-made shot-silk mantle is worn over the

¹ *Le petit parc* in the Wallace Collection is an example of Fragonard's painting at this period. Two pictures in the Bache Collection in New York, mentioned in my list, are others.

² Fragonard himself was under the average in height. The male figures in his pictures tend to be short.

³ *Le Contrat* was engraved by Blot. In 1905 it was in the Marquis de Hautpoul's collection.



J. H. FRAGONARD
The Stolen Kiss (Le Baiser à la dérobée)

L. 100 g. d. Homage

FRAGONARD'S ŒUVRE

dress in *Le Baiser à la dérobée*; this was taken off the dress and used as the young man's dressing-gown in *Le Contrat*, which was evidently painted a little later because the dress has been renovated by the addition above the tight sleeves of a puffed over-sleeve and the insertion of a new frilled *modestie*.¹

The impetuous note in Fragonard's drawing begins to be apparent in the sketch for *Le Verrou* and it is still more clearly seen in the group of works that come next. In these we see another model, a *petite brunette* who posed for the delightfully lively figures in M. David Weill's drawing *Les Pétards* (Pl. 70a)—which represents young girls terrified by fireworks let off by a boy through a skylight in their bedroom—and for the paintings *La Chemise enlevée* and *Les Baigneuses* (Pl. 70b) in the Louvre.²

In *Les Pétards* (Pl. 70a) we observe much the same attitudes as in *Les Baigneuses* (Pl. 70b), and in *Les Pétards* there is a remarkable dog which was about the studio at this time. This dog appears in the *Leçon de Musique* in the Louvre where the seventeen year old Marie-Anne Gérard lately arrived from Grasse is trying to play the piano; it may have belonged to La Guimard as it figures again in a full-length portrait of the dancer, where the artist, working in his old Boucher manner, has painted a Boucher Cupid aiming an arrow at the lady's foot.³

We find a return to Boucher (who began we must not forget as an engraver of Watteau) in the famous decorative panel *Les hazards heureux de l'escarpolette* (*The Swing*) now in the Wallace Collection, and in the five Frick Collection panels painted for

¹ Other pictures which belong to the *Corésus* group are *Le Vœu à l'Amour* in Orleans, for which there is a delightful sketch in the Louvre, *Le Serment d'Amour* in the Bacon Collection in New York, and *Le rêve du sculpteur*, in the collection of M. David Weill, a picture said to have been painted for Mme de Pompadour and therefore produced before 1764.

² *La chemise enlevée* is a sketch for an easel picture. It is in typically bad Louvre condition but it is still possible to see that it was painted with great delicacy of handling and colour. *Les Baigneuses* on the other hand, which is coarse both in handling and colour, was certainly an overdoor panel and intended to be seen at a distance. The four pictures *La Musique*, *L'Etude*, *Portrait de fantaisie* and *L'Inspiration* (two of which bear the date 1769 written on the back) are similarly coarse in handling and also overdoors.

³ This picture is reproduced in de Nolhac's "Fragonard." I do not know its present whereabouts.

FRAGONARD'S ŒUVRE

Mme du Barry. The six pictures form a group in themselves dating from 1765 to 1772.

The subject of the du Barry series is known to have been *Le progrès de l'amour dans le cœur des jeunes filles*. The traditional order of the panels is: (1) *La Poursuite*, also known as *La Surprise*, (2) *Le Rendez-vous*, also known as *L'Escalade*, (3) *Les Souvenirs*, also known as *Les Confidences* (Pl. 69), (4) *L'Amant Couronné*, (5) *L'Abandon*.

The reason that these pictures were rejected remains obscure. It has been suggested that the faces in *Le Rendez-vous* resembled Mme du Barry and Louis XV and that this offended the King. But there was, I think, another reason. I believe that Mme du Barry or the King saw an offensive double meaning in one of the pictures and rejected the whole series without giving an explanation.¹

I believe that the correct order for the pictures is: (1) *L'Abandon* which should be called *Le Désir*,² (2) *Les Souvenirs* which should be *Les Confidences* (Pl. 69), (3) *La Poursuite*, (4) *Le Rendez-vous* which should be *L'Escalade*, (5) *L'Amant Couronné*. Thus arranged we get a continuous design illustrating a story; and the last picture *L'Amant Couronné*, where the young couple are posing to the artist, is the calling in of Fragonard to record the "happily ever after" ending.³

¹ Fragonard himself was doubtless unconscious of the objectionable effect in this picture which is caused by a shadow that does not appear in the original drawing in the Groult Collection. The subjects of many of Fragonard's drawings and paintings are *grivois* in a light way, but I am not acquainted with any deliberate pornography from his hand. Pornographic *double entente* appears however with obviously deliberate intent in some pictures by Boilly. (Cf. p 167.)

² For why should Fragonard paint Mme du Barry as *deserted* by the King—at the very moment of her triumph?

³ In his studio, however, Fragonard actually began, I think, with *Le Désir* (*L'Abandon*), *Les Confidences* (*Les Souvenirs*) and *L'Amant Couronné*, because the tall blonde still appears in all three pictures wearing her satin dress of which the sleeves have not yet been altered. In these pictures moreover we see the old studio property, the *Coréus* wreath, and the lute, the music book and the boy's suit and ruffle of the Louvre *Leçon de Musique*. *L'Abandon* is not a finished picture but a sketch in monochrome with touches of red. This does not mean, however, that it was necessarily the last from the illustrative standpoint or the last to be produced.

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On his Italian journey with Bergeret in 1773 Fragonard made a great many drawings mostly of *Bambochade* character;¹ he probably painted few if any pictures. But *Les Lavandières* in the Amiens Museum I take to be a sketch done in three-quarters of an hour on this Italian tour.

Fragonard's work of 1775-1779 after his return from the tour shows the influence of his study of Rembrandt in the German and Austrian collections which he visited with Bergeret. He was already acquainted with Dutch pictures which he could have seen in many collections in Paris, but till then he had been mainly influenced by Terborch (as in *Le Baiser à la dérobée* (Pl. IV), and still more in *Le Contrat*) and by Frans Hals as in the four overdoors in the Louvre;² and the spot-light effect derived from Rembrandt had already appeared in the sketch for *Le Verrou* and other works; but at this period the Rembrandt influence is so strong that Portalis has assumed that he visited Holland.³

This Rembrandtesque manner is seen in *La lettre* (Pl. 71) and *La résistance inutile* (Pl. 72a) both now in M. David Weill's collection, and also in genre pictures like *La famille du fermier* in the Leningrad Hermitage and the *Taureau blanc à l'étable* belonging to M. David Weill.⁴

For the remainder of his career Fragonard painted genre pictures of domestic and rustic subjects, making free use of the *Bambochade* drawings which he had made on the Bergeret tour. *The Schoolmistress* (*Dites donc, s'il vous plaît*) (Pl. 72b) in the Wallace

In *L'Escalade* and *La Poursuite* the model would seem to be Mme Fragonard wearing the satin gown, with the new puffed sleeves of *Le Contrat* and the old tight undersleeves now cut completely away, as she also wore it when posing for *La Leçon de Musique*.

All this of course is speculative as Fragonard like Watteau painted mainly from drawings which he might use after the model who sat for the drawing was no longer available. But he also sometimes painted direct from nature; *La Leçon de Musique* for example was obviously painted in this way; *Les Pétares* (Pl. 70a) and *Les Baigneuses* (Pl. 70b) on the other hand both contain a figure copied from the same study.

¹ Cf. note, p. 86.

² Cf. note, p. 150.

³ Portalis records a drawing by Fragonard of Rembrandt's *Night Watch* and another of a Dutch mill.

⁴ *La fête du St. Cloud* in the Banque de France, and the sketches for parts of it in two private collections, also belong to this period.

TABLEAUX DE MODES

Collection where we see Mme Fragonard and his son, aged about three, as models, is a pleasant example of his domestic subjects.

Fragonard was an artist with great gifts; and his gaiety is irresistible. The verve, the spontaneity, the wit and the delicacy in drawings of the character of *Les Pétards* were something new in art and in these qualities he has never been surpassed. His more impetuous oil paintings also make a great appeal to those who enjoy facility and virtuosity of touch. But compared with Boucher, he was not a decorator; and compared with Watteau he had no microcosmic aim. He was a painter of easel pictures who began as a lyric poet, who developed into the ancestor of *La Vie Parisienne* draughtsmen and ended as a painter of genre.

We must recognise that Diderot's criticism at a crucial point of his career was to some extent justified. There can be no doubt that Fragonard took the line of least resistance. In *La Fontaine d'Amour* (Pl. 68), which was painted, I am convinced, before the *Coréus*, there is an abstract lyrical quality in the movement from which those of us who saw Pavlova and Mordkin's first entrance in their Bacchanalian dance recapture the same thrill. The lyrical movement that blows across *La Fontaine d'Amour* occurs again in the Louvre sketch for *Le Vœu à l'Amour*; and it is present in a slower tempo in *Le Baiser à la dérobée* (Pl. IV). But already in the sketch for *Le Verrou* the movement has become *rubato*; when we get to *Les Pétards* (Pl. 70a) and *Les Baigneuses* (Pl. 70b) the lyrical quality has disappeared.

Fragonard's spirit when he drew *Les Pins à la Villa Pamphili* (Pl. 67) was still modest; it had idealism when he painted *La Fontaine d'Amour*; it became irresponsible when he frequented La Guimard and the gay world; and it became bourgeois when he married.

In a word he lacked personality. He had sensibility, but not much intellect, and hardly any will.

x. *Tableaux de Modes*

The eighteenth century in France was marked by the prevalence of engravings known as *gravures de modes* which represented

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fashionable costumes worn by figures placed in appropriate surroundings. Engravings of this kind had been produced all over Europe in the seventeenth century and Jacques Callot and Abraham Bosse, already mentioned, were among the French exponents.¹

The tradition was continued by Watteau who drew a number of fashion plates which were engraved in the *Recueil Jullienne*,² and it culminated in *Le Monument du Costume*, delightful plates announced as a "*Suite d'Estampes, pour servir à l'histoire des mœurs et du costume des François dans le dix-huitième siècle*" which perfectly fulfilled the advertisement.³

These engravings, and the dainty and entertaining *estampes galantes* which sublimate the easy morals of French social life of the period, are outside my subject. But I must mention the names of the engravers Nicolas Delaunay (1739-1792), Robert Delaunay (1749-1814), Pierre-Philippe Choffard (1730-1809), Jean-Baptiste Simonet (1742-1810), François Dequevauviller (1745-1807) and the colour printers, J. F. Janinet (1752-1814), who invented an unsuccessful hot-air balloon, C.-M. Descourties (1753-1826), and P.-L. Debucourt (1755-1832) who made the brilliant drawings for many of his prints, and retired to the country in the Revolution and bred rabbits.

Exquisite *gouache* drawings and water-colours were made for these engravings and colour prints by Moreau le Jeune (1741-1814), who designed the most spirited of the plates for *Le Monument du Costume*, Pierre-Antoine Baudouin (1723-1769), Augustin de Saint-Aubin (1737-1807), Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780), Nicholas Lavreince (1737-1807), and S. Swobach-Desfontaines who drew *Le Café des Patriotes* where the Jacobins used to congregate in the Revolution.

Paintings of the character of the *gravures de modes* had been a feature of Dutch seventeenth-century production, and Terborch and Metsu had achieved popular success with their illusionist texture painting of satin skirts and fur-trimmed jackets which they painted on lay figures.⁴ When Chardin's paintings of

¹ Cf. pp. 47 and 85.

² Cf. note, p. 108.

³ *Le Monument de Costume* was published in instalments between 1774 and 1783.

⁴ Cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, pp. 236-246.

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domestic subjects appeared they were ranked by the dilettanti as the continuation of this tradition, and some of the early pictures by Fragonard were regarded in the same way.¹

In the Dutch *tableaux de modes* there was hardly any action. But the French artists soon began to give their pictures of this kind the additional interest of movement and incident and their *tableaux de modes* eventually developed into records of contemporary life and manners as spirited and full of incident as the engravings.

The last artist, whose name is associated with this school is Louis-Leopold Boilly: he was essentially an oil painter—though he occasionally drew for the engravers, and his work and career, both highly significant of the period, must be separately considered.

xi. *Louis-Léopold Boilly*

BORN LA BASSEE 1761. DIED PARIS 1845

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	Wallace Collection	The Dead Mouse
London.	Wallace Collection	The visit returned, 1789
London.	Wallace Collection	The Sorrows of Love, 1790
Paris.	Louvre	Réunion d'artistes dans l'atelier d'Isabey, 1798
Paris.	Louvre	L'Arrivée de la Diligence, 1803
Paris.	Louvre	Les Amateurs d'Estampes
Paris.	Louvre	L'Averse
Paris.	Louvre	Seven portraits
Paris.	Louvre	La Partie de Dames au café Lamblin, c. 1820
Paris.	Musée Cognacq	Lucile Desmoulins
Paris.	Musée Cognacq	L'Enfant au fard
Paris.	Musée Cognacq	La Jeune mère déçue
Paris.	Musée Cognacq	La Moquerie
Paris.	Musée Cognacq	La Mère en courrace
Paris.	Musée Cognacq	L'Innocent
Paris.	Musée Cognacq	La Serinette
Paris.	Musée Cognacq	Les Saltimbanques

¹ The influence of Terborch appears, as already noted, in Fragonard's *Le Baiser à la dérobée* (Pl. IV) and in *Le Contrat*. In *Le Contrat* moreover the lady has dropped on to the sofa a coat trimmed with white fur of the type which occurs in Metsu's pictures.

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Paris.	Musée Carnavalet	Départ des concrets en 1807
Paris.	Musée des Arts décoratifs	L'Atelier de Houdon
Rouen.	Museum	Portrait of Boieldieu
Lille.	Museum	Marat porté en triomphe
Lille.	Museum	Studies for L'Atelier d'Isabey

Boilly, son of an ornamental sculptor of La Bassée, earned his living from eighteen to twenty-three by painting portraits in the provinces; he is said to have produced three hundred in Arras alone. Arriving in Paris in 1784 he painted *tableaux de modes* which were generally *risqués*, and sometimes indecent by reason of a *double entente*. In the Terror he was denounced as an indecent painter of the old régime and he escaped the guillotine by beginning *Marat porté en triomphe* (now at Lille) before the inquisitors arrived at his studio. Having weathered the storm he became a recorder of social life under the Directorate, the Consulate, the Empire and the Restoration, and he also continued to paint portraits and from time to time *tableaux de modes* more or less in his old manner.

Boilly's social pictures are the forerunners of the journalistic descriptive paintings of the nineteenth century. In *L'Arrivée de la diligence* (Pl. 74b), painted in 1803, now in the Louvre, we see a young wife embracing her husband, who has just arrived by the *diligence*; a nursemaid holds one of the lady's children in her arms and blows the nose of another; in other pictures we see old cronies playing chess in a café and people caught in a rainstorm in the streets of Paris;¹ and *Les Saltimbanques* in the Musée Cognacq shows us open-air acrobats and the crowd watching them—a picture in the old tradition of *The Quack Doctor* started in Holland by Bamboche² and carried on by Jan Steen and others.³

We see, in fact, the influence of the Dutch seventeenth-century pictures in all Boilly's work; and he revived the Dutch tradition of portrait groups of men united by occupation or office, which

¹ This picture, which was acquired by the Louvre a few years ago, makes an interesting contrast with *Les Parapluies* (in the National Gallery, Millbank) by Renoir.

² Cf. note, p. 86.

³ Cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, pp. 174 and 175 and Pls. 70 and 97.

JEAN-BAPTISTE GREUZE

had already appeared in French art in the work of Largillière.¹ His *Atelier d'Isabey* in the Louvre, which was painted in 1798, is a brilliant piece of collective portraiture and a most interesting record of the continuation of the artists' life in their Louvre quarters all through the Revolution.²

Boilly gave his paintings the remarkably smooth polished finish which we associate with some of the Dutch pictures and which we encounter again in certain pictures by Ingres. He is said to have invented some optical device to assist him in representational imitation. It was possibly some instrument of the kind used by the Dutch painter Gerard Dou³ or some contrivance of the *camera oscura* variety of the kind used in the eighteenth century by Canaletto.

As he always delineated costume with great accuracy, and worked over a period when it changed several times, his pictures have considerable value from that point of view.

xij. Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805)

In the second half of the century there was a reaction in certain sections against the *estampes galantes* and the *tableaux de modes* and it became fashionable to adopt Diderot's attitude and ask a picture to tell a moral tale. The "simple life" ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau were also fashionable, and genre pictures showing the presumed domestic happiness of peasants in rustic interiors were much admired.⁴

Fragonard in his later genre pictures was thus working to achieve contact with a growing taste, but as he did not exhibit his genre paintings in the Salons he never experienced the popular success which Greuze achieved with his *L'Accordée de Village* in the Salon of 1761.

Greuze was the son of a builder of Tournes, near Mâcon, and

¹ Cf. note, p. 96.

² In another group *L'Atelier de Houdon* (in the Musée des Arts décoratifs) we see the sculptor at work on a portrait bust with the sitter on the throne and the sitter's wife and daughters watching; Houdon's famous statue of *Voltaire* (now in the Musée Fabre at Montpellier) is at the back of the studio.

³ Cf. my *Introduction to Dutch Art*, p. 280.

⁴ Boucher's rustic interiors had been in the spirit of the *estampe galante*. (Cf. p. 147.)



Chicago, Art Institute

HUBERT ROBERT. Les Fontaines.



Paris. Musée Cernuschi

LOUIS-LÉOPOLD BOILLY. L'Enfant au fard.



Paris. Louvre

LOUIS-LÉOPOLD BOILLY. L'Arrivée de la Diligence (detail).

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he was apprenticed to a painter of Lyons who brought him to Paris ; he remained obscure till at the age of thirty, in 1755, he submitted a genre picture to the Academicians and was agréé and allowed to exhibit *Un père de famille qui lit la Bible à ses enfants* in the Salon. He was taken to Italy by one of the dilettante Abbés of the time, and there he met and fell in love with a young Italian Countess to whom he was giving lessons in drawing. Marriage being out of the question he returned to Rome in sentimental mood and fell a victim to a bookseller's daughter whom he married in 1769. Mme Greuze, he soon discovered, was a shrew ; she was also, as he discovered later, a harlot ; but she was pretty, as we know from a long series of pictures.

L'Accordée de Village, now in the Louvre, was unfinished when the Salon of 1761 opened and it arrived six days before the exhibition closed. For these six days—as the de Goncourts put it, “ *c'était une acclamation, une émeute d'enthousiasme, un prodigieux succès.* ” The picture represents an old peasant handing a money bag to a young man whom he has just accepted as the betrothed of his daughter who is seen with her mother and various sisters on the other side of the peasant interior. The picture, in character, is a scene in a third-rate melodrama ; but its false sentiment was well calculated to appeal to the Salon public at the time.¹

In the same Salon Greuze exhibited *Mme Greuze en vestale* ; and his genre pictures in the next few Salons were accompanied by examples of those “ fancy ” heads and figures of young girls with which his name is most widely associated. The London Wallace Collection has a number of well-known examples of this aspect of his work, of which *La Prière du Matin* in the Musée Fabre, at Montpellier, is also characteristic.

In 1767 the Academicians, jealous of his success, refused to allow him to exhibit as he had not yet painted his *tableau de réception*.² He therefore painted an agreed subject : “ *L'Empereur Sévère reproche à Caracalla, son fils, d'avoir voulu l'assassiner dans les*

¹ And to Diderot who hailed Greuze as the fulfilment of his own art principles (cf. p. 144). “ *C'est vraiment là,* ” he wrote, “ *mon homme que Greuze . . . c'est la peinture morale. Quoi donc ! le pinceau n'a-t-il pas été assez et trop longtemps consacré à la débauche et au vice ? . . . Courage, mon ami Greuze, fais de la peinture morale et fais-en toujours comme cela. . . .* ” ² Cf. note, p. 105.

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défilés d'Ecosse, et lui dit : ' Si tu désires ma mort, ordonne à Papinien de me la donner avec cette épée.' ”¹ The Academicians then elected him—but in the inferior category of *peintre de genre*, which excluded him from the higher offices in the Academy.² This so incensed him that he abstained from exhibiting at the Salons and organised exhibitions in his own studio which Marigny had granted him in the Louvre.³

Greuze made a great deal of money out of the sale of his pictures and engravings from them.⁴ But his capital, like Fragonard's, disappeared in the Revolution ; and he had not Fragonard's advantage of David's protection. In 1801 we find him writing to the Minister of the Interior : “ *J'ai tout perdu, or le talent et le courage. J'ai soixante quinze ans, pas un seul ouvrage de commande.* ” In the hope of scoring a popular success he now broke his resolution and began to send pictures again to the Salons ; but the triumph of *L'Accordée de Village* was not repeated ; and he was almost destitute when he died in 1805.

Greuze was a detestable artist. He was coarse and stupid in his genre subject-pictures in which he never approached the contact with real simplicities that we find in the works of Louis Le Nain and Chardin ; and in his “ fancy ” heads and figures he was lecherous.⁵

¹ The picture is now in the Louvre.

² Cf. p. 141.

³ In this, cf. p. 158, he was following the example of Fragonard who was among his friends. The Salon public flocked to Greuze's studio exhibitions where many of his best-known pictures, including *La Cruche cassée*, were first shown. *La Cruche cassée*, bought by Mme du Barry, as noted, passed to the Louvre when Mme du Barry's property at Louveciennes was nationalised in the Revolution.

Greuze believed in keeping his name before the public ; he wrote letters to the newspapers explaining “ how the idea came to him ” for a subject picture or protesting against unfavourable references to his pictures.

⁴ The engravings had an enormous sale ; they hung in countless bourgeois homes and even collectors of *estampes galantes* and *gravures de modes* competed to secure them. For Greuze's *Portrait of Napoleon*, cf. note, p. 190.

⁵ I have described some of Fragonard's drawings as ancestors of the drawings in *La Vie Parisienne*. Greuze was the ancestor of the “ pretty girls' heads ” on the covers of popular magazines. But Fragonard at his worst was better than the best of his imitators ; Greuze at his best was worse than the worst of his.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LANDSCAPE

xiiij. *French Eighteenth-century Landscape*

French landscape painting under the old régime showed few signs of the collapse into the imitative naturalism of the Dutch tradition that was to appear in the nineteenth century. The artists held fast to the picturesque-classical tradition in landscape and they reinforced the mechanical vision of their eyes to architectural perception.¹

Boucher's landscapes and landscape settings in his compositions were organised with the same cold intellectual clarity that we find in his other work. There is no haphazard imitation of casual appearance in *Le Moulin* in the Louvre or *Le Moulin de Charenton* at Orleans; all the units in these pictures are consistently formalised and architecturally disposed.

Watteau, after his first genre period, gave style to his landscapes by studying Venetian drawings, and in a picture like the Wallace Collection *Amusements Champêtres* (Pl. 48) he contributed a new space-concept of his own. Fragonard, who started in the Claude tradition (Pl. 67), also made a contribution in his massing of verdure in the Louveciennes panels (Pl. 69) and in *La Foire de St. Cloud* in the Banque de France.²

Apart from these artists who used landscape to some extent incidentally, there were others, especially in the second half of the century, who specialised in this field. Of these the outstanding names are Joseph Vernet, Louis-Gabriel Moreau and Hubert Robert.

Joseph Vernet (1714-1789) was sent to Italy by a patron at the age of nineteen, and he developed there as a painter of

¹ I have discussed the fundamental difference between mechanical vision and perception in *The Modern Movement in Art*, pp. 17-23 and 76-118.

² The nineteenth-century collapse was, however, heralded by Oudry in *La Ferme* (painted in 1751 and now in the Louvre). This picture which represents a farmhouse and farmyard with animals treated purely as genre was accurately described in the old Royal inventory as "*un tableau dans le genre flamand*." Oudry, as noted (cf. note, p. 148), was definitely a naturalist of the Low-Country school; in his animal painting he followed Snyders and Desportes and anticipated Courbet.

Louis XV's Queen, Marie Leczinska, who, like Mme de Pompadour, was an amateur artist, made a copy of *La Ferme* which can be seen to this day at Versailles.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LANDSCAPE

decorative landscapes and marines in the manner of Claude. He was recalled to Paris by Mme de Pompadour in 1745 and Marigny commissioned him to paint a series of views of French ports. Fifteen of these views, which exhibit a fine decorative serenity, can be seen in the Louvre.¹

Louis-Gabriel Moreau (1740-1806), known as Moreau l'Aîné, to distinguish him from his brother of *Monument du Costume* fame,² specialised in views in the regions round Paris. His admirable *Vue des coteaux de Bellevue* in the Louvre, where little figures in the foreground give the sense of scale to majestic trees, is characteristic of the small number of his pictures that survive.

Hubert Robert (1733-1808) was taken at the age of twenty-one to Italy by the French Ambassador. He worked in the French Academy in Rome and under Claude's follower Panini. He became a friend of Fragonard and with him, as noted, a protégé of the Abbé Saint-Non. He painted decorative pictures of Roman ruins with genre figures of *lavandières* and so forth in the Bamboche-Claude tradition; and he sometimes recorded actual scenes in a decorative way.

When he returned to France he received numerous commissions from owners of Louis XVI rooms with which his pictures admirably accorded. His work also appealed to the Russians of the Court of Catherine the Great and scores of his pictures can be seen to this day in Catherine's palace, known as Tsarskoe Selo, and in the mansions formerly owned by Russian nobles.³

In 1792 he was arrested as a suspect but he managed to escape the guillotine and to secure a post with his old friend Fragonard on the staff of the Museum.

Hubert Robert exhibited immense fertility in decorative composition. His output was very large but he never repeated

¹ Vernet's Italian pictures, in which he often anticipated Romantic landscape by suggesting drama and mood, were bought by rich men as decorative panels for Louis XVI rooms. The Louvre has several examples which entered the museum as nationalised treasures when the owners emigrated during the Revolution. (Cf. p. 180.)

² Cf. p. 165.

³ Cf. Sir Martin Conway's *Art Treasures in Soviet Russia*, a book which serves to remind us of the extent of the export of French art of all kinds under the old régime. (Cf. pp. 126 and 189.)

MMES VIGÉE-LE BRUN AND LABILLE-GUYARD

himself. He had a light touch and his pictures are agreeable in colour. I reproduce *Les Fontaines* (Pl. 73), now in the Art Institute of Chicago.

xiv. *Mmes Vigée-Le Brun and Labille-Guyard*

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries both in Holland and in France there were many women painters who imitated the various pictorial tendencies of their day ; and just before the Revolution there were two women painters, Mme Labille-Guyard and Mme Vigée-Le Brun, who had rival reputations as portrait painters in Paris.¹

Mme Adelaide Labille-Guyard (1749-1803) was the daughter of a Parisian shopkeeper who supplied "*dentelles, rubans et jolies fanfreluches*" to the Court ; and in her youth she formed a friendship with Mme du Barry who was then an assistant in the shop. She studied painting under F. A. Vincent (1746-1816) who painted the portrait of Fragonard's friend Bergeret which is now in the Museum at Besançon. She married one Nicolas Guyard, divorced him, and then married Vincent.

Clever and ambitious, she made friends with many of the

¹ In the field of portraiture they had to compete with H.-P. Danloux (1753-1809) whose excellent *Louis-Henry-Joseph de Bourbon* at Chantilly was painted in England (whither Danloux fled from the Revolution) and shows the influence of Reynolds and Lawrence ; Joseph Boze (1744-1826), painter of the celebrated full length of Mirabeau making his defiant reply to Dreu-Brézé (now in the Carnavalet Museum in Paris), who worked all through the Revolution and also painted portraits of Napoleon and Louis XVIII ; J. S. Duplessis (1725-1802), who painted the charming *Mme Lenoir* in the Louvre and a portrait of *Franklin* of which versions are preserved in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris and in the Museum of Boston ; Antoine Vestier (1740-1824), painter of the Carnavalet portrait of the adventurer *Latude* holding the rope-ladder with which he escaped from the Bastille after thirty-five years' imprisonment, and of pleasing portraits of women in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, the Museum at Bristol (England) and in the Louvre ; and J. Ducreux (1737-1802), who was La Tour's only pupil and was sent to Vienna to paint Marie-Antoinette's portrait. F. H. Drouais (1727-1775), the favourite Court painter at the end of the reign of Louis XV, and Louis Tocqué (1696-1772), who was Nattier's son-in-law and another favourite portrait painter in the second half of the reign of Louis XV, were both dead before Mme Labille-Guyard and Mme Le Brun began to attract attention.

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Academicians and painted their portraits ; in 1783, at the age of thirty-four, she was made an Academician, and she then waged a campaign to secure the admission of women painters to the professorial posts from which they were excluded, and to abolish the then existing limit to the number of women members. She had a considerable number of young women pupils, two of whom are seen in the striking full-length picture (Pl. 75b), now in the Wildenstein Collection, which I reproduce. She received commissions from members of the Royal Family and was made *peintre de Mesdames*, a post which, it will be recalled, had been held by Nattier. When the Revolution came she remained in Paris and was on terms of friendship with Robespierre who wrote to her in 1791 : "*On m'a dit que les grâces voulaient faire mon portrait. Je serais trop heureux d'une telle faveur si je n'en avais senti tout le prix.*"

Mme Labille-Guyard worked in oil and pastel with efficiency and vigour. But her vision was rather prosaic, as can be seen from M. David Weill's *L'artiste* (Pl. 76b), where she was not aspiring to the "Grand Manner" as in the full-length picture (Pl. 75b). The critics of her day continually compared her with Mme Le Brun and many regarded her as the superior artist.¹

Mme Elizabeth Vigée-Le Brun (1755-1842), the favourite painter of Marie-Antoinette, lived through the Revolution, the Empire and the reign of Louis XVIII. She was the daughter of the pastellist Louis Vigée (1715-1767)² and studied painting with various artists including Greuze and Joseph Vernet. At an early age she began to exhibit and have success ; at twenty she married Jean-Baptiste Le Brun, a picture dealer who became the father of the little girl who figures in the two well-known double portraits *Mme Le Brun and her daughter* in the Louvre.

¹ Mme Labille-Guyard's portrait *Mme Elizabeth* painted in 1787 is at Versailles ; it depicts the princess on a terrace with a child and a parrot and shows the influence of Reynolds. Her pastel portraits of *Vincent* and *J.-J. Bachelier* are in the Louvre ; the Musée Cognacq in Paris has the excellent *Comtesse de Cipierre* ; and Baron de Gunzbourg has an attractive pastel *Mme Clodion*.

² Louis Vigée drew the pastel portrait of *Mme de Pompadour en pèlerine* which now belongs to M. Germain Seligmann of Paris. It dates from 1745 and represents the sitter in what is believed to be the costume she wore when she first met Louis XV at a *bal masqué* in that year. The Comédie Française has Vigée's pastel *Mlle Dangeville* and the museums of Tours and Orléans have others.

MMES VIGÉE-LE BRUN AND LABILLE-GUYARD

Mme Le Brun's portraits were not such good likenesses as those of Mme Labille-Guyard, but they were more attractive pictures, and her sitters liked the brightly-rouged cheeks and the vivacious elegance with which she presented them. As a result she found herself "taken up" by Parisian society as a brilliant new artist and a personality with charm. In 1779 she received her first sitting from the Queen and was appointed her *peintre ordinaire*; she then painted the celebrated *Marie Antoinette with a rose*, *Marie Antoinette in velvet* and *Marie Antoinette and her children* (Pl. 76a) which are now at Versailles.¹

In 1783—the same year as her rival—she became an Academician.² Her diploma picture, an allegorical composition of two figures, *La Paix ramenant l'Abondance*, is now in the Louvre; and her composition in the next Salon caused Diderot to write: "*Lorsque je vois Mme Le Brun peindre l'histoire, je crois voir la massue d'Hercule soulevée par la main des Grâces.*" For the next four years she continued to paint portraits; just before the Revolution broke out she painted the portrait *Mme du Barry* (Pl. 75a) at Louveciennes;³ and in 1789, feeling herself suspect as a friend of the Queen, she left France.⁴

¹ In contrast to Mme Labille-Guyard, who was short, *trapue* and pugnacious, Mme Le Brun was amiable and graceful, a good hostess and a woman with a sense of humour.

Marie-Antoinette refused to sit to Mme Labille-Guyard. She was exactly the same age as Mme Le Brun and became her personal friend. They used to sing duets together in the intervals of work at the portraits. The King was delighted with the portrait of the Queen and her children. "*Je ne me connais pas en peinture,*" he said to the artist, "*mais vous me la faites aimer*"—a more pleasant remark for an artist to hear than "I know nothing about painting but I know what I like."

² The Academy, to mark the difference in social status of its members from that of members of the old *Maîtrise*, had made a rule that no member could be directly or indirectly connected with dealing. As the wife of a picture dealer Mme Le Brun was therefore not eligible for membership. But the rule was waived by order of the Queen. (Cf. note p. 7 and pp. 83, 84.)

³ Mme Le Brun in her old age published her *Souvenirs* where she states that Mme du Barry at this period used no rouge and spent most of her time visiting the local poor. The portrait which was formerly in the collection of the Duc de Rohan is now in the Wildenstein Collection in Paris.

⁴ When Mme Le Brun left Paris she was almost penniless though she had made considerable money by her portraits. The money, it would seem, was spent by her husband who looked after her business affairs. She

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During the Revolution Mme Le Brun travelled painting portraits and, it is said, landscapes in Italy, Austria, Germany and Russia. She had no difficulty in making money as she had introductions to the Courts and the wealthiest people wherever she went. In Naples she painted several portraits of Lady Hamilton in Nattier's allegorical tradition.¹

In 1802 she returned to Paris but she refused to be introduced to Napoleon and, finding herself ill at ease in the new Parisian society, she crossed to England where she stayed three years. In 1805 she reconciled herself to the idea of the Imperial régime and went back to Paris where she painted portraits at Napoleon's Court. Later she bought herself a house at Louveciennes where she died at the age of eighty-seven.²

divorced him before leaving France; he remained in Paris and acted as saleroom agent for the Government's purchases at art sales during the Revolution. (Cf. note, p. 180.)

¹ I do not know the present whereabouts of these portraits.

² Mme Le Brun's reputation was very high in her day. James Northcote, pupil of Reynolds, has recorded an amusing incident in connection with the exhibition of some of her portraits in London. "As I had not conceived that it was worth any painter's trouble to go to see them," he writes, "I had not gone; but was glad when I found that he (Reynolds) had seen them that I might have the opinion of so great a judge. I said 'Pray what do you think of them Sir Joshua?' 'That they are very fine,' he answered. 'How fine?' I said. 'As fine as those of any painter,' was his answer. 'As fine as those of any painter, do you say? do you mean living or dead?' When he answered me rather briskly, 'Either living or dead.' I then, in great surprize, exclaimed, 'Good G——! what, as fine as Vandyke?' He answered tartly, 'Yes, and finer.' I said no more, perceiving he was displeased at my questioning him. I mention the above circumstance to show his disinclination to oppose the popular opinion, or to say anything against the interest of a contemporary artist: as it was not his intention to mislead me, but only to put a stop to my enquiries."

Mme Le Brun's comments on the work of Reynolds were more critical: "*Ils sont*," she wrote, "*d'une excellente couleur qui rappelle celle de Titien, mais, en générale, sont peu terminés, à l'exception des têtes.*"



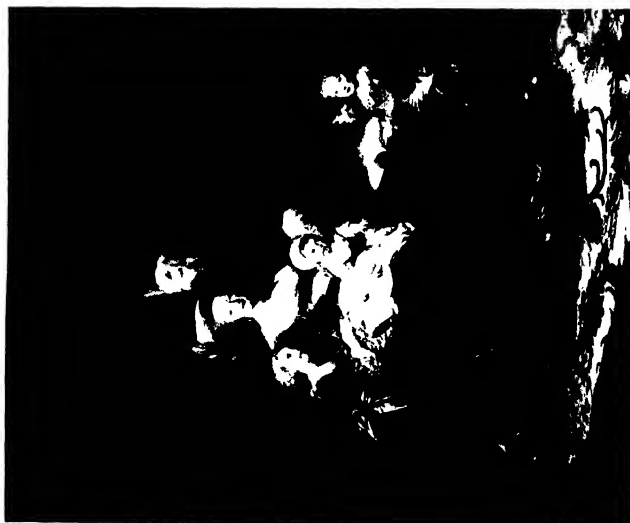
Collection of M.M. Budaïstien et Cie, Paris and New York
 MME. LABILLE-GUYARD. Self portrait with her p. 248.



Collection of M.M. Budaïstien et Cie, Paris and New York
 MME. VIGÉE-LE BRUN. Mme du Barry.



Paris. Du 1788. L'artiste.
 MME. LABILLE-GUYARD. L'Artiste.



Paris. Du 1788. L'artiste.
 MME. VIGÉE-LE BRUN. Mme Anoinette and her children.

PART FIVE

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE SECOND EMPIRE

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FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE SECOND EMPIRE

i. *The Revolution*

In the last years of the old régime when *sujets grivois* and genre pictures of the type of Greuze's *L'Accordée de Village* were popular, the number of painters considerably increased. This happened because it required little skill to paint such pictures well enough to satisfy a Salon public that asked nothing from the painter but the power to tell an anecdote in paint. With this increase in the number of painters the supply of such pictures began to exceed the demand and the painters began to protest against the Academy's tyranny and to complain that they had "nowhere to exhibit" their productions.¹

The complaint at the time was largely justified, for the Salons, as noted, were limited to the works of *agréés* and members; other artists could still only show in the discredited exhibitions of the *Académie de St. Luc*, i.e. of the old *Maîtrise*, and, on one day a year, in the old open-air exhibition on the Place Dauphine which was now known as *l'exposition de la jeunesse*.²

In these circumstances a club called *La Société des Amis des Arts* was founded which had a gallery in the Hôtel Bullion. There semi-public exhibitions were held to which collectors were invited; and it was there that artists like Mme Labille-Guyard and Boilly first attracted attention.

When the Revolution broke out the discontented artists became more articulate and in 1791 *L'Assemblée Nationale* decreed that the Salon should be open to everyone. As a result the 1791 Salon contained twice as many pictures as the Salon of 1789, and the number of pictures shown in the Salons steadily increased all through the Revolution.³

In 1792, when David was virtually Art Dictator of the Republic, he was petitioned by a group of artists to abolish the

¹ The same complaint may be heard in Paris to-day though at least 30,000 pictures are now shown there every year.

² Cf. note p. 123 and p. 135.

³ In 1789 three hundred and fifty pictures were shown in the closed Salon. In 1791 seven hundred and ninety-four were shown in the first open Salon; in the Salon of 1793—the year of the Terror—there were over a thousand exhibits; in 1795 there were over three thousand. (I have taken these figures from *A History of French Art*, by Rose Kingsley.)

THE REVOLUTION

Académie royale de peinture et sculpture and also all the other Royal Academies of the old régime. David had a report prepared and in the following year the Academy was abolished and with it all the old organisations for training craftsmen in the French provinces that had existed since the days of Colbert.

In the place of these organisation the Revolutionary Government set up a *Commune générale des Arts* to direct contemporary production and give employment to artists, as private patronage had now ceased, and on David's proposal they founded open competitions for patriotic pictures to be purchased by the State.

The Government also founded a *Museum national des Arts* (to which, as noted, David appointed Fragonard) to inventory and direct the conservation of the nationalised works of art from the royal palaces, from churches, and from the houses of émigrés.¹

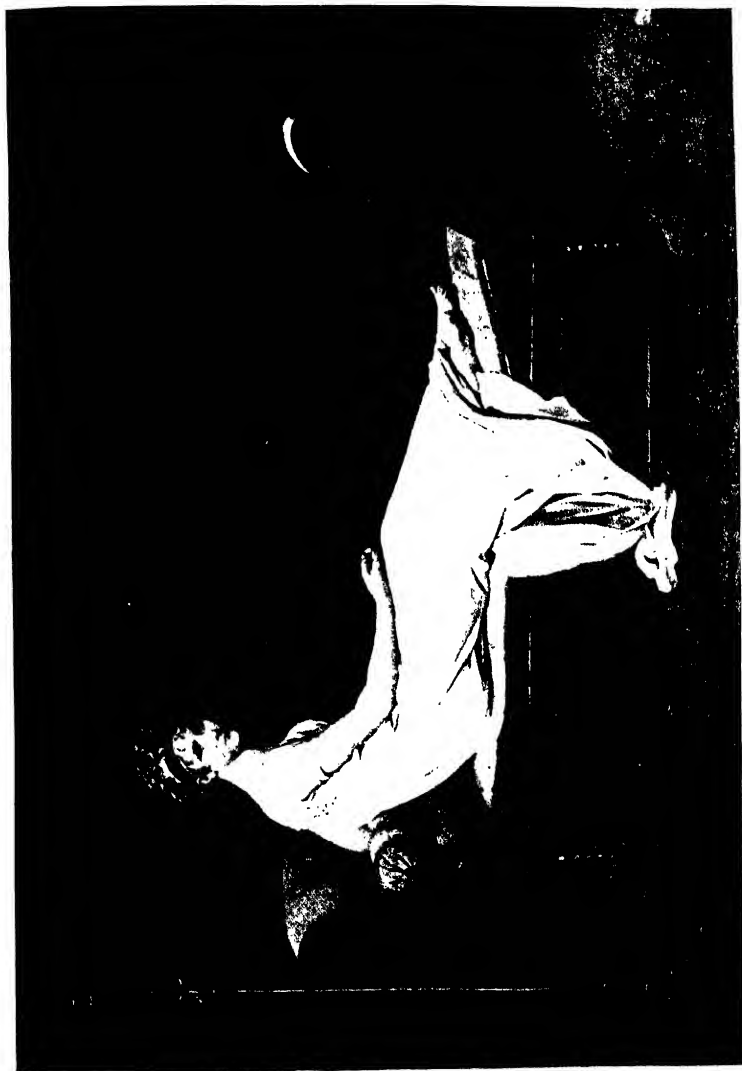
The Government further set aside a sum for the purchase of works of art at private sales in order to prevent the flight of fine works to foreign countries; and in the year of the Terror, on David's proposal, they bought from this fund pictures by Rubens and Jordaens, and Rembrandt's *Holy Family* known as *Le Ménage du Menuisier* now in the Louvre.²

In 1795 the old Royal Academy was replaced by the *Institut National* which included a new *Académie de la littérature et des Beaux Arts* as a section; and this eventually became the *Académie des Beaux Arts*. The artists known as *Membres de l'Institut* corresponded to the Members of the old Academy and soon formed themselves into a caucus in the old way.

The revival of the "antique" in architecture, painting and the applied arts, which took place during the Revolution, and

¹ The majority of the pictures which now form the Louvre Museum are nationalised property from these three sources. The first public museum of sculpture and applied art was arranged in a former convent in the year of the Terror by Alexandre Lenoir who rescued Goujon's *Diane Chasseresse* and countless other works from destruction. Such parts of his museum as were not eventually transferred to the Louvre can be still seen in the courtyard of the École des Beaux Arts.

² This was bought on behalf of the government by the picture dealer Le Brun (Mme Vigée-Le Brun's divorced husband, cf. p. 176) at the sale of the property of the Duc de Choiseul-Praslin, deceased.



LOUIS DAVID

JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID

culminated in the celebrated Directoire style in clothes, is very widely known. This classical revival had really begun, as noted, under Mme de Pompadour, but in the days of the Revolution it was greatly developed because the "antique" styles were then given topical significance through their association with the supposed Republican virtues of antiquity.

In painting, this classical revival found a first champion in Vien¹ and a still more powerful champion in Louis David, who employed the famous cabinet-maker Georges Jacob to build furniture copied from Greek vases for his classical pictures.

ij. *Jacques-Louis David*²

BORN PARIS 1748. DIED BRUSSELS 1825

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	Sir Philip Sassoon Collection	Head of a Girl, c. 1800
New York	Metropolitan Museum	Mlle Charlotte du Val d'Ognes, c. 1800
New York	Metropolitan Museum	Portraits of the chemist Lavoisier and his wife, 1788
New York.	Berwind Collection	Mme de Richemont and her son, c. 1805
Philadelphia.	Johnson Collection	Portrait of a Youth
Paris.	Ecole des Beaux Arts	Erasistratus discovering the cause of the sickness of Antiochus, 1774
Paris.	Louvre	Minerva, Mars and Venus, 1771
Paris.	Louvre	Portraits of M. and Mme Pécoul, 1784
Paris.	Louvre	Belisarius as a beggar recognised by one of his soldiers, 1784

¹ Joseph Marie Vien (1716-1809) was an Academic decorator under the old régime and it was his work which replaced Fragonard's panels at Louve-ciennes (cf. note, p. 158). Under Louis XV he was Director of the *Ecole des élèves protégés* and under Louis XVI he was Director of the Academy in Rome. Returning to Paris he was made *Premier peintre du roi* in 1789 and claimed to be the originator of the return to the classical style.

In 1796 at the age of 80 he won a prize in one of the open competitions organised by the Directorate. In 1800 Napoleon made him a member of the Senate and Commander of the Legion of Honour, and at a great dinner given in his honour David and his pupils hailed him as the regenerator of French art.

² For a catalogue of Louis David's works and ninety magnificent plates the student is referred to Cantinelli's *Jacques-Louis David*.

JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID

Paris.	Louvre	The vow of the Horatii, 1785
Paris.	Louvre	Paris and Helen, 1788
Paris.	Louvre	Brutus, First Consul, in his home, after condemning his two sons to death, 1789
Paris.	Louvre	Fragment. Le Serment du Jeu de Paume, 1790
Paris.	Louvre	La Marquise d'Orvilliers, 1790
Paris.	Louvre	Mme Chalgrin, 1793
Paris.	Louvre	View of the Luxembourg Garden, 1794
Paris.	Louvre	Catherine Tallart, 1795
Paris.	Louvre	Portraits of M. and Mme Sériziat, 1795
Paris.	Louvre	The Sabines, 1799
Paris.	Louvre	Mme Récamier, 1800
Paris.	Louvre	The Coronation of Napoleon, 1805-1807
Paris.	Louvre	Léonidas at Thermopylæ, 1814
Paris.	Louvre	The three ladies of Ghent, c. 1818
Paris.	Bibliothèque Nationale	Portrait of Michel Lepeletier de Saint-Fargau
Paris.	Fleury Collection	The Death of Socrates, 1787
Paris.	Edmond de Rothschild Collection	Drawing: Marie Antoinette on her way to the scaffold, before 1793
Paris.	Bassano Collection	Sketch of Bonaparte, 1798
Paris.	Comtesse Murat Collection	La Marquise de Pastoret, c. 1795
Paris.	Comtesse Murat Collection	La Baronne Pauline Jeannin, 1812
Paris.	Comtesse Murat Collection	Mme David, c. 1813
Paris.	Marquise de Ganay Collection	Pope Pius XII and Cardinal Caprara, 1805
Versailles.		Bonaparte at the St. Bernard, 1800
Versailles.		The Distribution of the Eagles, 1810
Avignon.	Musée Calvet	Death of Bara, 1794
Lyons.	Museum	La Maraîchère (La Tricoteuse), 1795
Besançon.	Museum	Portrait Drawings for the Coronation
Biarritz.	Beistegin Collection	Mme de Verninac, 1799
Brussels.	Museum	The Death of Marat, 1793
Brussels.	Museum	Mars disarmed by Venus and the Graces, 1824
Mans.	Museum	Michel Gerard and his family, c. 1794
Poland.	Branicki Collection	Count Potocki on Horseback, 1781
Leningrad.	Hermitage	Phaon, Sapho and Cupid, 1809

DAVID'S LIFE

(a) *David's Life*

Louis David was the son of a Parisian tradesman ; he was brought up by two uncles of whom one was a builder and the other an architect. His early drawings were taken to Boucher who recommended Vien as a first teacher.

At the age of eighteen he entered the Academy's art school and there year after year he competed without success for the Prix de Rome. In 1773 after the fourth failure he attempted suicide. He was then twenty-four.¹

It was after this period of frustration that he asked and received Fragonard's permission to complete his panels in La Guimard's *hôtel*.²

In 1774 he competed once again for the Prix de Rome and won it ; and he set off for Italy with his old master Vien who was going to take up his appointment as Director of the Academy in Rome.

David was twenty-seven—unusually old for a scholarship winner—when he arrived in Rome ; but perhaps for that reason the impressions he received there were the more profound. He remained for three years and when he returned to Paris he had determined to bring French painting back to the point where it had been left by Poussin.

In Paris he began at once as a history-painter, and by 1784 he was a member of the Academy with a studio in the Louvre. In that year the Comte d'Angivilliers who had succeeded Marigny as *Surintendant des Bâtiments* commissioned from him *The Vow of the Horatii* (*Le Serment des Horaces*), which is now in the Louvre.³

David determined to make this picture a demonstration of his passionate reaction against both the genre and the decorative

¹ Some of David's biographers ascribe the abolition of the Academy to the hatred of that institution which he acquired at this time.

² If David nourished hatred against the Academy he was also capable of remembering a kindness, as the help which he gave to Fragonard during the Revolution (which has already been noted, cf. pp. 159, 180) bears witness.

³ D'Angivilliers had persuaded the King to commission four or five history-pictures every year to encourage the continuation of the Grand Manner which artists were beginning to neglect. The pictures however were apparently not actually bought for the Royal Collection unless they were approved on completion.

DAVID'S LIFE

traditions of French eighteenth-century art. He had married in 1791 the daughter of the King's contractor for the Louvre; in the course of painting the *Horatii* he decided that he could only achieve the real classical severity in the atmosphere of Rome; his father-in-law provided the money, and with his wife and a pupil-assistant he returned to Rome.

Le Serment des Horaces when finished was exhibited in the artist's studio in Rome and created a sensation. But in the Salon of 1785 in Paris it was "skied." Nevertheless it attracted attention and was bought by the King. Thus encouraged David returned to Paris and painted *The Death of Socrates* now in the Fleury Collection. This was ordered by a private collector and shown in the Salon of 1787.¹

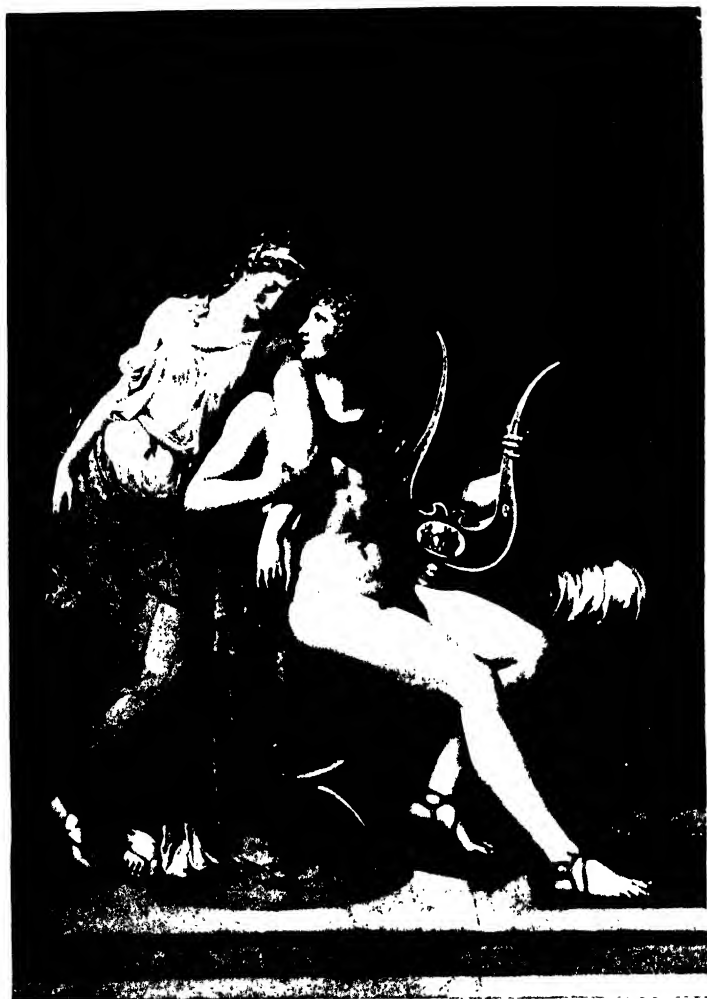
The Louvre *Paris and Helen* (Pl. 77), also a private commission, was painted in 1788 and exhibited in the Salon of 1789 together with the celebrated *Brutus* (Louvre), which was another commission from d'Angivilliers on behalf of the King.²

When the 1789 Salon opened the Revolution had already begun; the doors were guarded by Academy students acting as *gardes nationaux*. The *Brutus*, imposing in itself, was aided in its effect by the subject which in the eyes of the excited public seemed to have topical significance and to exalt the self-sacrifice of Republican patriots. D'Angivilliers had tried to exclude it

¹ All David's biographers state that Reynolds spent ten days in the Salon contemplating this picture and pronounced it faultless. But this is an error. Reynolds was not in Paris in 1787. The eulogy referred to appeared in a London newspaper article called "The State of the Arts in Paris," written by a Paris correspondent in October 1777. (Cf. Whitley's *Artists and their friends in England 1700-1799*.)

² The full title of the *Brutus* as exhibited at the Salon was *Brutus, Premier Consul, de retour en sa maison après avoir condamné ses deux fils qui s'étaient unis aux Tarquins et avaient conspiré contre la liberté Romaine. Les licteurs rapportent leurs corps pour qu'il leur donne la sépulture.*

The original commission had been for a scene from the life of Coriolanus. David tried various compositions without success and eventually changed the subject on his own initiative but without any political idea. The picture shows the wife and daughters of Brutus struck with horror at the lictors bearing the two corpses. Brutus sits in shadow in the foreground. The group of the woman and the two girls based on the antique *Niobe* has passages of grace. David, as noted, had the furniture in the picture specially made in the antique style but on the table he has placed a homely work-basket and a reel of wool.



Paris - Louve

LOUIS DAVID. Paris and Helen (detail).



Liver, Provence - Museum

J.-A.-D. INGRES. Jupiter and Thetis.

DAVID'S LIFE

from the Salon but the veto arrived too late ; and David found himself almost by accident acclaimed as the Painter of the Revolution.

It was therefore to David that the Jacobins turned with a commission for a Revolutionary propaganda picture: *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume*, and they allotted him a church as a studio in which to produce it.¹

In 1792 David became a Deputy in the Convention, a member of the *Comité de l'Instruction* and of the *Commission des Arts*; and for two years he was virtually Art Dictator of the Republic. In this capacity, in addition to the abolition of the Academy and the organising work already recorded, he designed Revolutionary propaganda fêtes and processions, he suggested a new civil costume based on "l'Etrusque, le Grec ou le Romain," and he painted propaganda pictures recording the deaths, for the Republic, of Lepeletier de Saint Fargeau, of Marat and of the boy Bara.

In these pictures all the Revolutionary victims are represented nude in accordance with the classical doctrine. *Marat* (Pl. 80a) is shown in his bath as David saw him shortly after Charlotte Corday had delivered the blow. *Bara* (Pl. 80b) who was actually in uniform at the time of his death, lies naked on the ground and presses a tricolor cockade to his breast.²

After the fall of Robespierre in 1794, David himself became suspect ; he was attacked in the Convention, arrested, and kept for four months in the Luxembourg Palace (then used as a prison). In the following year he was arrested a second time and again imprisoned for three months. In prison he painted a *View of the Luxembourg Garden* from his window and began a design for a large composition depicting the Sabine women intervening to stop war. On his release he retired from politics and was given a studio by the Directorate. There he painted *The Sabines* and exhibited it in his studio from 1799 till 1804.³

¹ David never completed this picture because most of the personages represented became suspect when he was half-way through his work. A portion of the project is in the Louvre.

² *The Death of Marat* is now in the Brussels Museum. *The Death of Bara* is in the Musée Calvet at Avignon.

³ David charged for admission to see this picture and made in gate-money 70,000 francs (which I am unable to translate into present money).

DAVID'S ART

Napoleon, as First Consul, went to the studio to see *The Sabines* and when he became Emperor he appointed David *Premier peintre de l'Empereur* and commissioned him to paint a series of pictures recording Imperial ceremonies, two of which, *The Coronation of Napoleon in Notre Dame* known as *Le Sacre de Napoléon I^{er}* (now in the Louvre), and *The Distribution of the Eagles* now at Versailles, were painted between 1805 and 1809.¹

Under the Empire, David tried to become Art Dictator for a second time. But he was now over sixty; he no longer had the fire and energy of his earlier years; and he was unable to compete with the opposing interests. He accordingly abandoned the attempt and buried himself in the composition of another large history painting, the *Léonidas before Thermopylæ*, now in the Louvre, on which he worked in 1812 and 1813.

At the Restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 David sent all compromising pictures from his studio into the country, and he was left undisturbed. During the Hundred Days he received a visit from Napoleon to see the *Léonidas*, and in a moment of enthusiasm he signed the *Acte additionel* for which he was exiled in 1816 by Louis XVIII. He spent the remaining nine years of his life in Brussels.

(b) David's Art

David's work has made a great appeal, since the Cubist-classical Renaissance, because he really was a champion of the classical concept. The modern artists look back to David above the agitations and accidents of nineteenth-century Romantic and Impressionist, pictures just as David himself looked back to Poussin over rococo art and the addle-pated productions of the eighteenth-century Grand Manner.

We must not forget that he was a contemporary of Fragonard whom he regarded as a gifted but degenerate artist whose pictures represented self-indulgence. *Point d'emportement du*

In a manifesto handed to visitors he stated that in demanding gate-money for the inspection of a picture in his own studio he had precedent in the practice of the English Royal Academicians. He would not have been allowed to do this in the old days of the *Académie royale* which actually expelled a member who attempted it.

¹ Napoleon refused to sit for these pictures (cf. p. 190).

DAVID'S ART

pinceau was his motto. He excluded all parade of handling, all suggestion of facility from his work. He desired, like Poussin, to instil the serenity of antique art into his pictures. He sought continually the generic image. He endeavoured to thrust actuality on one side.

But David never attained to the architectural heights of Poussin's outstanding works. He never achieved a coherent space-concept. He had a classical concept of forms but not of form.

Moreover, there was something doctrinaire—that came from his environment—in David's passion for the classical ideal. Poussin was a philosopher obsessed with a desire to create a microcosmic image. David was a fanatic obsessed with a hatred of rococo and Academic art.

David's work, like Poussin's, is often described as cold and dry. But in truth David, like Poussin, was passionate and sensual and like Poussin he distilled this sensuality through his mind. This quality appears in his *Bara* (Pl. 80b) and it also appears in the numerous portraits which he painted at all periods of his life.

David's portraits pulse with vitality beneath a brush that was always held in check. This controlled vitality is especially evident in an unfinished portrait like *Mme Recamier* (Pl. V) in the Louvre or in a sketch like the *Head of a Girl* (Pl. 84a) in Sir Philip Sassoon's collection in London. The man who painted these sketches was not lecherous like Greuze but he also was certainly not cold or dry.

David possibly was more true to himself in his portraits than in any other aspect of his work. *The Sabines* and the *Léonidas before Thermopylæ*, both huge pictures, are magnificent efforts, but they represent above all an exercise of will and we feel that the artist, in spite of high intentions, is really working in a field beyond his powers. In his portraits on the other hand and in *Le Sacre de Napoleon I^{er}* the artist has fulfilled his intentions. He has not taken the line of least resistance—David never succumbed to that—but he has aimed at a goal which with an effort he could reach.¹

¹ When David painted *Le Sacre de Napoleon I^{er}* which contains scores of full-length life-size portraits he was nearly sixty. When he had decided on the composition he had the figures made in wax and disposed in a box as Poussin

DAVID'S CHARACTER

(c) *David's Character*

David's biographers have fought hard battles about his character. He has been represented as an arrivist, a turncoat, a second Charles Le Brun who made the times serve his personal ambition. He has also been presented as a coward who betrayed his friends, and a sadist who insulted the dead body of Charlotte Corday and delighted in the slaughter of the guillotine. On the other hand, he has been presented as a man of intense enthusiasms who flung himself with fanatical zeal into one cause after another—first into the creation of classical art, then into the purification of France by the Revolution, and finally into the glorification of Napoleon.

There are facts to support all these contradictory estimates. David voted the death of the King; he made no efforts to save his artist friends Peyre and Sedaine from execution. The sitter for one of his warmest, most sympathetic portraits, the *Mme Chalgrin* in the Louvre, was a daughter of Joseph Vernet the landscape painter; David's picture was painted in the year of the 'Terror'; a few months later she was accused of theft and guillotined and David did nothing to assist her.¹

There can be no doubt that David worked side by side with Robespierre in the days of the slaughter by the guillotine; and he used to sit outside a café and make drawings of the victims

had done for his compositions (cf. p. 77.) For each head he made a portrait drawing which was transferred "squared up" to the canvas and painted in by an assistant while he sat in an armchair and issued his instructions. Afterwards he finished each head himself. *Le Sacre de Napoleon I^{er}* and *La Distribution des Aigles* were painted in the Église de Cluny which was converted into a studio by the Imperial government for the purpose.

¹ Madame Chalgrin was accused as an accomplice in thefts from the Château de la Muette (which had been nationalised with its contents) because she shared an apartment with a daughter of the concierge (curator) of this former palace (where, it will be recalled, Watteau had painted *chinoiserie*s in the time of the Duchesse de Berry's riotous occupation (cf. p. 110)). The inquisitors found fifty pounds of candles in this apartment and this was held to prove the guilt of Mme Chalgrin, of the concierge's daughter and of her mother who were all guillotined. Virgile Josz suggests in his "Fragonard" that David's desertion of Mme Chalgrin was an act of vengeance because she had refused his advances when sitting for her portrait.

THE FIRST EMPIRE AND A.-J. GROS

being driven to their doom. Baron Edmond de Rothschild has a drawing *Marie-Antoinette on her way to the scaffold*—an unforgettable pen sketch which David drew (as we know from the inscription upon it) from a seat in a window reserved for spectators of the procession; and Mrs. Siddons, the actress, told the sculptor Nollekens that she was in a room with David when a *rapporteur* announced that eighty people had been guillotined that morning and David exclaimed, "No more?"

These are facts. But they are facts which must be read in the light of the hysteria of the period. They can be easily chronicled. But they cannot be lightly judged.¹

iii. *The First Empire and A.-J. Gros*

When Napoleon became Emperor in 1804 he called for a new style to decorate his palaces and the residences of Josephine; and the *style Empire* which resulted was the last phase of the antique revival which we have followed in its various forms. The furniture and decoration in this style though sumptuous and elaborate was coarse in execution, because the French skill in craftsmanship had been destroyed when David abolished the provincial organisations in which the craftsmen had been trained. It was one thing for Napoleon to order the resumption of the skilled work of the old régime and to desire to renew the revenue that came to France from export of applied art; it was another for designers like Fontaine and Percier to try to revive French craftsmanship without skilled workmen, especially at a period when machines were beginning to displace hand labour in so many ways.

In the field of painting I have already noted Napoleon's use of Louis David's power to paint propaganda pictures on a large scale. Napoleon's conception of the painter's art was much the same as that of Louis XIV. He regarded painting as a means of celebrating his own career; and he was quite determined that his artists should represent him not as he was but as a new Augustus Cæsar or Alexander the Great. In his youth he sat

¹ Perhaps the key to David's psychology may be found in the character of Evariste Gamelin in Anatole France's *Les Dieux ont soif* which draws a convincing picture of the period as a whole.

THE FIRST EMPIRE AND A.-J. GROS

once to David for three hours on the eve of his departure for Egypt (in 1799), but as Emperor he refused to sit to anyone.¹

Napoleon believed in art not only as a means of propaganda but also as a means of education and refinement for the masses. He turned all the artists out of the apartments in the Louvre (where artists had been lodged since the time of Henri IV) and completed the installation of the galleries as a national museum which had been begun in 1793; and side by side with the national treasures he exhibited art treasures which he had brought back after his victories in Italy and elsewhere. This additional *Musée Napoleon* could be seen in the Louvre until the great pictures it contained were returned to their countries of origin by the Allies after Waterloo.

The pictures which Napoleon brought back from Italy had been chosen by an artist Antoine-Jean Gros (1771-1835), a pupil of David, who was attached to Napoleon's staff and afterwards painted pictures of his triumphs. Gros painted *Bonaparte au pont d'Arcole* (now in the Louvre) in 1796 and exhibited it in the Salon of 1801; Napoleon had the picture engraved by the Venetian Giuseppe Longhi who was launched by the success of this plate. Gros also painted *Bonaparte visite les pestiférés de Jaffa* (now in the Louvre) in 1804, and the splendid *Napoléon sur le champ de bataille d'Eylau* (now in the Louvre) in 1807. Although a pupil of David he was a Romantic at heart and his pictures, which are vigorous in handling and full of emotive movement, herald the Romantic reaction against David's art. In his later years Gros suffered from melancholia and he eventually committed suicide by drowning himself in three feet of water.

¹ "Qu'avez-vous besoin de modèle?" he said to David. "Croyez-vous que les grands hommes de l'antiquité aient posé pour leurs portraits? Qui se soucie de savoir si les bustes d'Alexandre sont ressemblants? Il suffit que nous ayons de lui une image conforme à son génie. C'est ainsi qu'il convient de peindre les grands hommes."

In 1803 Ingres who was twenty-three and Greuze who was seventy-eight both received commissions from provincial municipalities for portraits of Napoleon as First Consul. Napoleon refused to sit to either. But he allowed them to come together to the Palais of Saint Cloud and to look at him for a few minutes.

PIERRE PRUDHON

iv. *Pierre Prudhon*

Pierre Prudhon (1758-1823), who painted the well-known portrait *The Empress Josephine* (now in the Louvre), was another artist of consequence at this period. He was born in the reign of Louis XV and lived through the Revolution, the Empire and the reign of Louis XVIII. He had a distressing life, which included only a few years of prosperity, and his last days were clouded by a tragedy.

Prudhon was the son of a mason of Cluny and he spent his youth as a provincial artist doing various kinds of hack painting and drawing for a living. At the age of nineteen he contracted a marriage of honour with a young woman of the people who plagued him for forty-five years and was finally locked up in a *maison de santé* after she had forced her way to the Empress to complain about her husband. In 1782 he won a provincial travelling scholarship and went to Rome where he remained doing engraving and other work for seven years.

On his return to Paris he found himself without friends at the time of the Revolution and he made a meagre living by engraving and book illustrations. But in 1804 a friend, who was Prefet de la Seine, commissioned from him *La Justice et la Vengeance divine poursuivant le Crime* to hang in the criminal court of the Palais de Justice in Paris, and this picture, now in the Louvre, made his reputation in the Salon of 1808.¹

As a result of this success he obtained commissions for portraits at the Court of Napoleon and he painted *Le Triomphe de Bonaparte* (a sketch for which is now in the Museum at Lyons). He also painted a *Venus and Adonis* (now in the London Wallace Collection) in which the nude Venus is traditionally supposed to have been drawn from the Empress Marie Louise to whom he gave drawing lessons, and a nude portrait (now in the Beskow Collection, New York) of Napoleon's sister Pauline Borghese.²

The period of Prudhon's success at the Imperial Court

¹ This picture is now in a scandalous condition due partly to the artist's use of bitumen and a noxious medium of his own invention and partly to the Louvre authorities' criminal negligence in refusing to clean and condition their pictures.

² This lady also sat nude for the sculptor Canova.

PIERRE PRUDHON

coincided with the beginning of a romantic affection for his pupil and imitator Mlle Constance Mayer, a young lady of independent means who went to live with him and help him with his pictures. In 1821 when she was forty-six Mlle Mayer became hysterical and cut her throat with one of Prudhon's razors before her mirror. Prudhon never recovered from the blow. He died two years afterwards and was buried in her grave.

Prudhon's pictures have many attractive qualities. In Italy he acquired an enthusiasm for Correggio and still more for Leonardo da Vinci of whom he wrote "*Pour moi je n'y vois que perfection et c'est là mon maître et mon héros . . .*"

His charming portrait *Mme Dufresne* (Pl. 88a) shows the mellifluous line and twilight chiaroscuro which he imparted to his work as a result of this enthusiasm; and this picture (which is now in M. David Weill's collection) also indicates, I fancy, that he was acquainted with engravings after portraits by the masters of the English eighteenth-century school.

In his subject pictures Prudhon brought back the Cupid and Psyche, and the Venus and Adonis, of French painting in Boucher's day. But he portrayed the traditional figures in the soft light and shade used by Leonardo's early followers. His pictures moreover were not intended to be decorative panels to accord with a decorative style in interior decoration; they were conceived as lyric poems in paint existing in their own right. Prudhon's subject pictures show what Fragonard's art might have become if he had pursued the lyric vein of *La Fontaine d'Amour* (Pl. 68), which he afterwards abandoned.

In Rome Prudhon was intimate with the sculptor Canova and his friendship, I fancy, had an influence on his work; it probably induced him to paint his figures as marble statues in black and white without yellow in the carnations; and it may be that we must ascribe to the same influence the mincing grace of the raised little finger which disfigures his otherwise graceful *Enlèvement de Psyche* in the Louvre.

The caucus of the Institute exerted all its influence against Prudhon's success and refused to admit him till 1816 when he was nearly sixty.¹

¹ Prudhon's *Assumption of the Virgin* (now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York) was painted for the Tuileries Chapel in 1816.



Cleveland, Museum of Art

PUIS DE CHAVANNES, Summer.

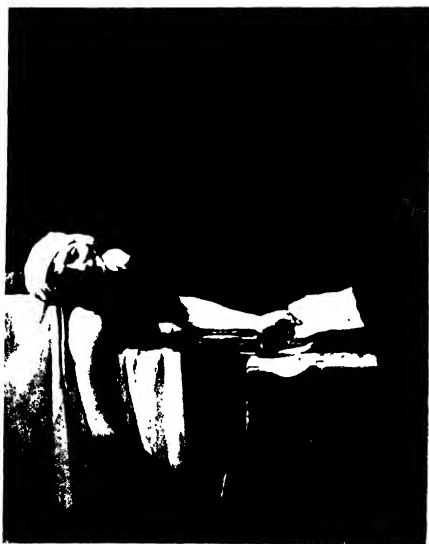


Fig. 127. — *Museum*

LOUIS DAVID. — Death of Marat.



Fig. 128. — *Museo Capiz*

LOUIS DAVID. — Death of Bala.

PAINTING UNDER LOUIS XVIII

Painting under Louis XVIII

In the reign of Louis XVIII (1814-1824) the outstanding artists were the pupils of David and of Jean-Baptiste Regnault, (1754-1829).

Regnault lived in Rome for some years and was the painter of the *Three Graces* (now in the Louvre), a group which resembles the celebrated *Three Graces* by Raphael (now at Chantilly), itself based on an antique group in the library of the cathedral at Siena.

Regnault's most notable pupil was Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774-1833) who painted Napoleonic propaganda pictures that can be seen at Versailles, and, later, pictures which were influenced by David and the French classical drama as performed at the *Comédie Française*. The Louvre has his *Retour de Marcus Sextus* (1799), *Phèdre et Hippolyte* (1802), *Aurore et Céphale* (1810), *Clytemnestra* (1817), and *Aeneas relating the woes of Troy to Dido* (1813).

David had a large art school from the time he exhibited his *Brutus* till he finally left Paris for Brussels, and the principles which he inculcated became nominally the basis of French official painting as represented by the Institute. But the Institute's concept of classical art soon became little more than a prejudice in favour of classical subjects with nude and draped figures and an insistence on smooth surface-painting with a show of detail in the representation. This degenerate pseudo-Davidian tradition persisted all through the nineteenth century; it can be seen in the work of Gérôme (1824-1904), and occasionally in the official salons of Paris to this day.¹

David's outstanding pupils, apart from Gros, already mentioned, and Ingres, whose work will be separately considered,

¹ The real Davidian tradition was, however, continued to some extent by Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1888) who executed mural decorations for the Panthéon, the Sorbonne and the Hôtel de Ville in Paris, for the Library at Boston, and for a number of French provincial towns (cf. my *Modern Movement in Art*, pp. 66-67). Puvis went twice to Italy and his *Summer* (Pl. 79), in the Cleveland Museum, which has passages which also occur in the Hôtel de Ville decorations in Paris, shows that he was susceptible to the charm of Luini's *Bathing Nymphs* in Milan.

PAINTING UNDER LOUIS XVIII

were Girodet de Roucy Trioson (1767-1824) and François-Pascal-Simon Gerard (1770-1837).

Girodet was the painter of *Le Sommeil d'Endymion* (1792) and *Atala mise au tombeau* (1808), both now in the Louvre. In *Atala mise au tombeau* he tried to combine the Davidian tradition with motifs and chiaroscuro taken from Rembrandt. He also painted official Napoleonic pictures for Versailles.

Gerard painted *Psyche reçoit le premier baiser de l'Amour* (Louvre) in 1798 and thereafter he became the favourite portrait painter of the Courts of Napoleon, Louis XVIII, Charles X and Louis-Philippe. Many of his portraits can be seen at Versailles.¹

The Napoleonic propaganda pictures created a taste among the Salon public for history-pictures with figures in contemporary clothes; but when the Bourbons returned in 1816 the official attitude encouraged the painting of history-pictures with subjects taken from the earlier history of France in order to stress the idea that the new régime had restored the continuity of French history interrupted by the Revolution and Napoleon. Pictures representing episodes from the career of Henri IV and other sovereigns, and painted illustrations of subjects taken from works of literature dealing with past periods, now began to appear side by side with pictures of classical subjects in the Davidian tradition.

France had been more or less isolated from the time of the Revolution to the fall of Napoleon, but with the Restoration of the Bourbons contact was established with other countries, and foreign literature became the rage; as Sir Charles Holmes has put it, "Goethe, Scott and Byron among the moderns, Dante and Shakespeare and Cervantes among the older writers took the place of Livy and Plutarch." This new movement was known, with a fine absence of pedantry, as *le style troubadour*; and later it was known, with equal inaccuracy, as *le style moyen-âge*.

David saw his pupils one after another succumb to the new *troubadour* subjects. The first successes in the style were scored by a group of artists from Lyons known as the *école de Lyons*

¹ During the Empire and the Restoration titles were given to successful artists; Gros, Gerard, Regnault and Guerin were all made barons.



Paris - Louvre

J.-A.-D. INGRES. Mme Rivière.



New York, Metropolitan Museum

J. A. D. INGRIS. Portrait Drawing.

J. A. D. INGRES

who included Pierre Revoil (1776-1842) and Fleury Richard (1777-1852), who had both been trained to paint classical subjects in David's school. Revoil's *Un Tournoi au XIV^e Siècle*, now in the Lyons Museum, a picture which might have been produced by certain Academic artists in Paris or London in 1912, was actually produced in 1812. Richard's *Vert-Vert*, a work of the same character, which can also be seen at Lyons, was painted before 1822.

But David knew that the tradition of Poussin and his own conception of classical style could not be compassed by the average mind. He foresaw the transformation of his classical concept into the pseudo-classical dogma of the Institute and he also foresaw the growth of the "*troubadour*" movement. In 1808 he wrote: "*Dans dix ans, l'étude de l'antique sera délaissée. J'entends bien louer l'antique de tous côtés et, quand je cherche à voir si on en fait des applications, je découvre qu'il n'en est rien. Aussi, tous ces dieux, ces héros seront remplacés par des chevaliers, des troubadours chantant sous les fenêtres de leurs dames au pied d'un antique donjon. La direction que j'ai imprimée aux beaux-arts est trop sévère pour plaire longtemps en France.*"

But though he could forgive what he held to be degeneration in lesser men he could hardly forgive when he observed its appearance in the work of his most gifted pupil Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres; and if he did not actually impede this remarkable artist he certainly refrained from assisting him in any way.

vi. J. A. D. Ingres¹

BORN MONTAUBAN 1780.

DIED PARIS 1867

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	Oedipus and the Sphinx, c. 1808
London.	National Gallery	M. de Norvins, 1813
London.	National Gallery	Roger delivering Angelica, c. 1819
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Portrait of a Man
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Portraits of M. and Mme Le Blanc, 1823

¹ For a full account of the life and work of Ingres the student is referred to his biography by Henry Lapauze which reproduces four hundred paintings and drawings.

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New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Portrait Drawing : Lady and Boy, 1808
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Portrait of Cherubini
New York.	Frick Collection	La Comtesse d'Haussonville, 1845
Cleveland.	Museum of Arts	Portrait drawing, 1830
Paris.	Louvre	Mme Rivière, 1805
Paris.	Louvre	Mlle Rivière, 1805
Paris.	Louvre	Philibert Rivière, 1805
Paris.	Louvre	Oedipus and the Sphinx, 1808
Paris.	Louvre	La baigneuse, 1808
Paris.	Louvre	La Grande Odalisque, 1814
Paris.	Louvre	Roger delivering Angelica, 1819
Paris.	Louvre	Christ giving the keys to St. Peter, 1820-1828
Paris.	Louvre	Pius VII in the Sistine Chapel, 1820
Paris.	Louvre	The Apotheosis of Homer, 1827
Paris.	Louvre	François Bertin, 1832
Paris.	Louvre	Cherubini and the Muse, 1842
Paris.	Louvre	The Virgin with the Host, 1854
Paris.	Louvre	Jeanne d'Arc, 1854
Paris.	Louvre	La Source, 1856
Paris.	Louvre	Le bain turc, 1862
Paris. (?)	FitzJames Collection	Philip and the Marshal of Berwick, 1818
Paris. (?)	Bessoneau Collection	The entry of Charles V into Paris, 1821
Paris. (?)	Bessoneau Collection	Aretino and Tintoretto, 1848
Paris.	Pereire Collection	L'Odalisque à l'esclave, 1839
Paris.	Baron E. de Rothschild	Baronne James de Rothschild, 1848
Paris.	Baroness James de Rothschild Collection	Raphael and La Fornarina, 1814
Paris.	Duc d'Orléans Collection	Le Duc d'Orléans, 1842
Paris.	Comtesse de Flaugvigny Collection	Mme Moittecier, 1851
Paris.	Duchesse de Broglie Collection	La Princesse de Broglie, 1853
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Self portrait, 1804
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Mme Devaucay, 1807
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Stratonice, 1840
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Vénus Anadyomène, 1807 and 1848
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Francesca da Rimini
Angers.	Museum	Francesca da Rimini, 1819

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Bayonne.	Musée Bonnat	Francesca da Rimini
Bayonne.	Musée Bonnat	Mme Devaucay, 1807
Bayonne.	Musée Bonnat	Baigneuse, 1807
Bayonne.	Musée Bonnat	Charles X, 1825
Bayonne.	Musée Bonnat	Portrait drawings
Autun.	Cathedral	The Martyrdom of St. Symphorien, 1834
Montauban.	Musée Ingres	Jesus among the doctors, 1862
Montauban.	Musée Ingres	View from the Villa Medici, 1807
Montauban.	Musée Ingres	View of the Villa Borhese, 1807
Montauban.	Musée Ingres	Numerous drawings
Montauban.	Cathedral	Le vœu de Louis XIII, 1824
Puy.	Museum	Philemon and Baucis ; drawing, c. 1801
Rouen.	Museum	La Belle Zélic, 1806
Aix-en-Pro- vence.	Museum	Jupiter and Thetis, 1811
Toulouse.	Museum	Virgil reading the Aeneid to Augustus, 1812
Nantes.	Museum	Mme de Senonnes, 1814
Brussels.	Museum	Virgil reading the Aeneid to Augustus (fragment), 1819
Liège.	Museum	Napoleon as First Consul, 1803-1805

Ingres is one of the most puzzling figures in the whole history of French art. He could be Classical and Romantic, formal and naturalistic, ascetic and lascivious, majestic and absurd, all in the same picture. At his best he was unquestionably a great artist ; at his worst he touches the lowest Academic depths. One thing only is clear as we study his pictures year by year throughout his long life of unusual productivity—and that is that he became gradually less of an artist with each succeeding year. His finest and most intriguing pictures which include the *Jupiter and Thetis* (Pl. 78) and the portrait *Mme Rivière* (Pl. 81) were all painted before he was thirty-five. He was still working at the age of eighty-two and he ended as alternately a pedant and a degraded photographic eye.¹

Ingres was the son of a versatile artist of Montauban who made architectural and garden sculpture and painted miniatures ; he became a pupil in David's art school at the age of sixteen, and kept himself by playing the violin in the orchestra of a theatre

¹ And yet this extraordinary artist produced right at the end of his career *Le bain turc* now in the Louvre—a picture compounded of the rhythmic grace of the early period and senile concupiscence.

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in the evenings.¹ In 1801, at the age of twenty-one, he was awarded a Prix de Rome, but as no funds were forthcoming for the scholarship he had to wait for five years before receiving a grant for the journey to Italy.

Within these five years he painted for the municipality of Liège, *Napoleon as First Consul*, which is now in the Museum of that city, *Napoleon as Emperor* for the *Corps législatif*, now in the Invalides, the *Self portrait* now at Chantilly, and the portrait *Mme Rivière* (Pl. 81) which, with portraits of her husband and daughter, is now in the Louvre.

Ingres went to Rome in 1806 and remained there till 1820. He then lived for four years in Florence. He was thus in Italy for eighteen years; and there he kept himself, and later his wife and mother as well, by making portrait drawings in pencil of the character of *A lady and a boy* (Pl. 82) which is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.²

In Rome Ingres looked at the Renaissance masters, especially Raphael, rather than at the antique sculpture which was recommended in David's school; but he also must have studied antique cameos and we can perceive this influence in the basso-relievo effect of *Jupiter and Thetis* (Pl. 78), now in the Aix Museum, which he sent to the Paris Salon in 1811 when he was thirty-one.³

The *Jupiter and Thetis* is probably the most characteristic of all

¹ The modern French painter M. Vlaminck did the same thing for a number of years.

² Ingres charged small fees for these portrait drawings and his sitters came from all classes. They included artists and musicians, members of the French colony in Rome, and foreign visitors to the city (the Musée Ingres, at Montauban, has a double drawing of Lord and Lady Cavendish-Bentinck). They also included members of the *petite bourgeoisie* of Rome many of whom were sent to his studio by a friendly barber. Ingres drew his sitters singly, in pairs, and in groups. He elaborated the heads and lightly indicated the whole or half-length figures. The Musée Ingres at Montauban and the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne have many characteristic examples of these drawings.

³ The head of Jupiter in this picture is based on the Otricoli Zeus in the Vatican. In 1806 Ingres painted his friend the sculptor Bartolini holding a small marble replica of the head of this statue in his hand. The student will find the picture reproduced by Lapauze who describes it as in the collection of Drake del Castillo. Bartolini was in Paris in his early years and was commissioned to make a head of Napoleon for the *Colonne Vendôme*.



Chantilly. Musée Condé

J.-A.-D. INGRES. Francesca da Rimini.



London, Sir Philip Sassoon Collection

LOUIS DAVID, *Head of a Girl*.



New York, The Frick Collection

EUGÈNE DELACROIX, *Hesiod and the Muse*.

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Ingres' pictures and the artist himself retained a preference for it all his life. But it was badly received at the Salon and found no purchaser. To critics accustomed to the Davidian tradition all Ingres' early pictures appeared Gothic. His portrait, *Mme Rivière* (Pl. 81), when exhibited in the Salon of 1806, had been denounced as an affected return to the Gothic primitives of the character of Jan Van Eyck and the same charge was made against the *Jupiter and Thetis*.¹

Delacroix's comment on Ingres in his early years was nearer the mark; Ingres, he said, was "*un Chinois égaré dans Athènes*"; and indeed there is something Chinese in the rhythmic flow of line and in the tactile values of the *Jupiter and Thetis* and also in *Mme Rivière*.

Also, of course, the *Jupiter and Thetis* is more a Romantic than a classical picture. The distortions of natural forms which characterise it are more in the nature of Romantic distortions to stress the emotivity of fragments than in the nature of classical distortions determined by concerns with architectural form.²

But the *Jupiter and Thetis* is nevertheless not purely a Romantic picture; its formal character is hybrid; and it shows a strange mixture of lyric rhythm and the pseudo-tragic grandeur of the Operatic stage.

In 1812 Ingres painted *Virgil reading the Aeneid to Augustus*, a finely imagined history-picture in the Davidian tradition, which is now in the Museum at Toulouse. The celebrated nude known as *La Grande Odalisque*, now in the Louvre, was painted in 1814 and was sent to the Salon of 1819. This picture, which resembles the nudes of the French Renaissance School of Fontainebleau, shows that Ingres had been studying Bronzino and the Italian masters who influenced that school,³ and the same quality appears in *Raphael and La Fornarina* now in a private

¹ "L'Académie des Beaux Arts" wrote: "*Cet artiste semble plutôt s'efforcer à se rapprocher de l'époque de la naissance de la peinture qu'à se pénétrer des beaux principes qu'offrent les plus belles productions de tous les grands maîtres de l'art, principes dont on ne saurait s'écarter impunément . . .*" And the writer then proceeded to criticise the drawing of the torso of Jupiter and of the left leg of the kneeling nymph.

² For the distinction cf. *The Modern Movement in Art*, pp. 29, 39, 145-153.

³ Cf. pp. 28-30 and Pl. 17c.

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collection which was painted in 1814, and in the *Francesca da Rimini* (Pl. 83) at Chantilly, which I assume to have been painted at the same time.¹

La Grande Odalisque received a hostile reception at the Salon. Once more Ingres was attacked as a Gothic artist but this time he was called "a Gothic artist of the school of Cimabue," and he was reminded that Gothic paintings of the Cimabue character were "*sans harmonie*" and that "*tout peinture sans harmonie est barbare.*"²

In *La Grande Odalisque* we can already perceive the direction in which the artist was about to degenerate. The figure, compared with those in the *Jupiter and Thetis*, is over-modelled, and in the actual painting there is a good deal of unpleasant surface polish. The equally celebrated *Mme de Senonnes*, now in the Nantes Museum, is a truly Gothic picture where the artist has aimed at *trompe l'œil* imitation of trumpery details and textures in the lady's dress and jewellery and at highly-polished smoothness in the face and hands. *Mme de Senonnes* anticipates the Daguerrotype by which Ingres was undoubtedly much influenced in his later years,³ but it falls far short of the highest achievements in this method of painting.⁴

In 1817 Ingres received a commission to paint a *Christ giving the Keys to Peter* for the church of *Santa Trinita dei Monti* in Rome. His picture, an incredibly dreary Raphaelesque *pastiche*, now in the Louvre, was completed in 1820; it was much admired in Rome and its success procured him a commission for *Le Vœu de Louis XIII* for the Cathedral of Montauban. This picture represents Louis XIII in a fleur de lys mantle kneeling before a

¹ The version of this picture at Angers which lacks the rhythmic quality and the formal distortions of the Chantilly version is dated 1819. Ingres often repeated his pictures with substantial variations at long intervals of time.

² *La Grande Odalisque* was a commission from Queen Caroline Murat of Naples who was unable to take delivery after the Napoleonic collapse in 1814. The picture found no purchaser at the Salon.

³ Cf. *The Modern Movement in Art*, pp. 88-92, 95, 96.

⁴ The jewellery in *Mme de Senonnes* would be seen to be clumsily painted if compared with the mirror and the beads on the wall in Jan Van Eyck's picture *Jan Arnolfini and his wife* in the London National Gallery—or with the nails in the chair of Vermeer's *Lady standing at the Virginals* in the same museum.

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Raphaelesque Virgin; it can still be seen in the Montauban Cathedral.

In 1824 Ingres returned to Paris and exhibited *Le Vœu de Louis XIII* in the Salon. This time he scored a triumph; he received congratulations from all sides; he was invited to join the Institute; and he was given the Legion of Honour by Charles X.¹

Le Vœu de Louis XIII, as a subject from French history of the past, was in the taste of the period as already noted; and Ingres, who seems to have been aware of this orientation, brought to Paris at the same time a number of other pictures in this "troubadour" style. They included *Henri IV playing with his children*,² *The Entry of Charles V to Paris*,³ *François I at the death-bed of Leonardo da Vinci*,⁴ *Philip V and the Marshal of Berwick*,⁵ *Pius VII in the Sistine Chapel* (Louvre) and the 1819 Angers version of the *Francesca da Rimini* to which I have referred above.

He now received commissions for the portrait *Charles X* (Musée Bonnat, Bayonne), for the *Apotheosis of Homer*, originally painted for the ceiling of a gallery in the Louvre and now exhibited on the wall, and for the *Martyrdom of St. Symphorien* for the Cathedral at Autun. He also had commissions for portraits.

The years of his adversity were thus over. Money flowed into his pockets. He sold the engraving rights of his "troubadour" pictures; and he opened an art school which continually increased in size.

As David was now dead and Delacroix had begun to show his tumultuous Romantic paintings in the Salons, Ingres—so long decried as Gothic—now found himself hailed as champion of the Davidian classical tradition, and even his complete failure to achieve a classical picture in the *Apotheosis of Homer* was hailed as a success. He accepted the position and became a

¹ The Louvre has a picture *Charles X distributing the awards in the Salon of 1824* by F. J. Heim (1787-1865) in which *Le Vœu de Louis XIII* is seen on the wall of the Salon.

² I do not know the present whereabouts of this picture.

³ This dreary Academic *tableau-vivant* reproduced by Lapauze is catalogued as in the *collection Bessoneau d'Angers*.

⁴ I do not know the present whereabouts of this picture.

⁵ This picture which recalls Le Brun's Louis XIV tapestries is reproduced by Lapauze and catalogued as *Collection de La Comtesse Robert de FitzJames*.

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pedant of the Institute from which he helped to exclude Delacroix for twenty-seven years.

In 1834 he returned to Rome as Director of the Academy and remained there till 1841. His *Stratonice* (now at Chantilly) was painted at the end of this period in Rome. He spent the final period of his life in Paris.

The climax of his career was the *Exposition Universelle* of 1855, when he had a gallery entirely filled with his main production to that date.¹

In his later years he painted a number of portraits of Second Empire ladies which continue the Daguerrotype manner of the *Mme de Senonnes* at Nantes.

Ingres made a great many preliminary studies for all his pictures, and some hundreds are preserved in the Musée Ingres at Montauban. There the visitor will also find the *Jesus among the Doctors*—a picture horrible in colour and Raphaelesque in design—which Ingres painted at the age of eighty-two.²

Had Ingres died, as Raphael and Watteau died, at thirty-seven, the world would rank him very high indeed. Is it possible that Raphael and Watteau would also have degenerated had they also painted till the age of eighty-six?³

¹ In this exhibition where Delacroix also had a gallery of his own (cf. p. 212), Ingres to his intense annoyance only received the second medal; the first was given to Horace Vernet (1789-1863), a painter of military pictures. Others who received medals were Delacroix, Meissonier (cf. note p. 251) and the English animal painter Landseer (cf. note, p. 207). The English Pre-Raphaelites were represented in this exhibition and their work was remarked by Delacroix.

² A day in the Musée Ingres at Montauban is a depressing experience. But the student will find a second day, when he has mastered the relation of the individual drawings to the artist's *œuvre* as a whole, exceedingly instructive. Ingres appears here as a man of extraordinary zeal and moral energy especially if we remember that he suffered all his life from rheumatism, asthma and vertiges.

³ One more judgment on Ingres must be recorded—that of Baudelaire, a critic who belongs more to our century than his own. To Baudelaire Ingres was "*ce pédant dont j'aime peu les facultés malingres.*" But we must remember that this was written of the later periods as Baudelaire only frequented the Salons from 1845 onwards. He may not have been acquainted with *Mme Rivière* and *Jupiter and Thetis*.

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

vij. *The Romantic Movement*

In the later years of the reign of Louis XVIII, and all through the reign of Charles X (1824-1830) and Louis-Philippe (1830-1848), liberal thought in France and especially in Paris was in a state of ferment. Charles X was a grotesque reactionary who believed that the misfortunes which had befallen Louis XVI were due to the concessions which he had made to liberal ideas ; he had nothing but contempt for the English theory of a constitutional monarchy ; he muzzled the Press and tried to put the clock back to the seventeenth century. The discontent aroused by this stupidity continued under the more prudent Louis-Philippe and culminated in the revolution of 1848 and the establishment of the Second Republic.

The celebrated Romantic movement in literature and art that arose and flourished between 1820 and 1850 was the artistic equivalent of the individualist liberal thought of the period.

The official doctrinaire and propaganda painting of the Revolution, and the official propaganda painting of the Empire, had been followed, as noted, by official "*troubadour*" painting under Louis XVIII. The Romantic movement developed this "*troubadour*" style, not as a renewal with the past but as an exaltation of Gothic freedom and individualism as opposed to classical order and control.¹

I have discussed the relation of the Romantic movement to the Cubist-classical Renaissance of 1886-1914 in *The Modern Movement in Art*, where I wrote : "The idea of art served by the artists of the Romantic movement a hundred years ago was the idea that the artist's function was to discover and record unusually emotive fragments. For the creation of a formal harmony and unity symbolising the harmony and unity of the universe, which is and always has been the classical architectural idea of art, the Romantic artist substituted the search for some

¹ As M. Hauteœur has put it : "*à la beauté il opposa le caractère, à la raison le sentiment, au dessin la couleur, à l'antiquité les temps modernes, à Raphaël Michel-Ange, aux Carraches Rubens, au nu le vêtement, à la nature humanisée la nature sauvage.*"

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

emotive fragment hitherto regarded as without emotive power. The fragments chosen by the Romantics were chosen not for their formal or generic but for their emotive significance ; they were the fragments which had affected the artist's emotions. Whether, judged by standards of Greek or Græco-Roman sculpture or Renaissance painting, the fragment was beautiful or ugly did not affect the issue ; if the fragment aroused emotion in the artist it was ' beautiful ' ; and its reproduction was worth while on that ground alone." In that book I have also pointed out that according to the Romantic creed the artist must be in a state of emotion at the time of working and that this emotion must be evident in the actual handling of the paint ; and I have discussed there the general character of the pictures painted as a result of this new creed, and the effects of that creed on pictorial technique.¹

From the social standpoint the Romantic movement was of great significance because the Romantic creed created the conception of the artist as an individual charged with the duty of increasing his sensibility and his emotional receptivity to the utmost in order to react with the utmost emotional vitality to emotive fragments of life ; and by the same token it created the conception of the artist as an *eccentric*, an individual outside society, subject only to laws dictated by the needs of his peculiar vocation.

The Bohemian artist was the creation of the Romantic movement, because original Romantic art could not be produced by a *bon bourgeois* who thought it important to wear the same clothes as his neighbours and to come home punctually for meals.

As the Romantic movement was part of the liberal individualism of the period, and as the Bohemian artist defied the laws and standards of bourgeois life, the period also saw the beginning of that hostility between the artist and the bourgeois which, together with the conception of the original artist as of necessity a Bohemian, persists to some extent to-day. The hostility has been fomented by the popular artists, who, jealous of original art, have endeavoured to discredit all the original artists of the last hundred years.²

¹ Cf. *The Modern Movement in Art*, pp. 13-14, and pp. 14-17, 27-31, 38-40, 55-66, 68, 197-201, 206-212.

² Cf. pp. 222, 223, 238, 239.

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

The Romantic movement at the outset was not understood by the public who looked at its first manifestations in amazement. But its individualist character was stigmatised by the artists who remained attached to the Davidian tradition and opposed their own confused concept of the classical principle to the new creed.

Both sides painted demonstration pictures, defending their principles, and sent these pictures to the Salons; and thus began the production of pictures, often gigantic in size, which were painted to attract attention and defend a principle in public exhibitions, and had no further function when the exhibition closed.¹

¹ These huge demonstration pictures were, of course, quite unsuited for a private house and unless they were purchased by the State they returned as "white elephants" to the artists' studios.

In the eighteenth century, as we have seen, all the large pictures painted were either commissioned as decorations for particular places or else commissions from the *Surintendant des Bâtiments* for tapestries to be made at the Gobelins and Beauvais factories for the Royal palaces or other luxurious interiors. When this demand began to disappear the production of large history-pictures was artificially continued by D'Angivilliers and Louis XVI for the sake of perpetuating the Grand Manner (cf. note, p. 183), and the pictures thus commissioned, when ultimately purchased by the State, were sent to Versailles. The Revolutionary Government, as noted (cf. p. 180), had commissioned and given money prizes for patriotic history-pictures; but they could not absorb all the production of such work, and David himself, who could not sell his *Sabines* and his *Léonidas*, reimbursed himself for the time and money expended on them by charging for admission to his studio to see them (cf. p. 185). During the First Empire the Napoleonic propaganda pictures, officially commissioned or bought, were hung in the Tuileries and at Versailles. When, under Louis XVIII, the pictures in the Musée Napoleon were returned to their countries of origin (cf. p. 190) the empty spaces on the Louvre walls were partly covered by the removal of the Rubens Medici panels from the Luxembourg Palace to the Louvre; and this was followed in 1818 by the arrangement of the Luxembourg as a gallery for contemporary pictures, and the official purchases of "*troubadour*" pictures in this and succeeding reigns were sent there. But the Luxembourg eventually became "full up" and then provincial galleries were instituted to take the overflow. Under the Third Republic the fund allotted by the Revolutionary Government for the purchase of contemporary pictures (cf. p. 180) was developed to the *caisse des musées* and it became the custom for the State to buy and send to the Luxembourg or some provincial museum a certain number of pictures every year. As the choice has usually been for pictures that would otherwise be "white

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I have already referred to the Classical demonstration Salon pictures produced by the pupils of David. The earliest Romantic demonstration pictures were produced by Théodore Géricault, painter of the celebrated *Radeau de la Méduse*, which was a Salon sensation in 1819.

Other early exponents of the new creed were E.-F.-M.-J. Devéria (1805-1865), painter of *La Naissance de Henri IV*, which attracted attention in the Salon of 1827 and is now in the Louvre ; and Richard Parkes Bonington (1801-1828), an English pupil of Gros, who scored successes in the Salons of 1822 and 1824, and was a friend of Delacroix, the one great artist of the movement.

viii. Théodore Géricault (1791-1824)

Théodore Géricault was a rich amateur who scored a Salon success at the age of twenty-one with his *Officier de chasseurs à cheval* (now in the Louvre) where we see an officer of the Imperial Guard mounted on a rearing horse (copied from an engraving after Raphael's *Battle of Constantine*). He tried to repeat the success in the Salon of 1814 with *Le Cuirassier blessé quittant le feu* (now in the Louvre) which was painted in a fortnight ; but this picture, where the horse was not copied from Raphael, failed to impress the public or the critics. In 1816 he went to Italy where he studied Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel and the drawings of horses by Leonardo da Vinci. On his return to Paris in 1818 he painted *Le Radeau de la Méduse* which is now in the Louvre.

This picture, which shows shipwrecked men on a raft, made a sensation in the 1819 Salon because the wreck of the *Méduse* was then of topical interest, and the liberals who were accusing the captain of incompetency were making the disaster an excuse for attacks upon the Government. For the emaciated survivors on the raft Géricault made studies in hospitals and from corpses ; for the central figure he made a study from a friend who was

elephants " in the artists' studios, a visit to most of the French provincial museums entails a good deal of rapid walking until the works of a more significant character (which they generally possess as the result of gifts and bequests) are discovered.

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suffering from jaundice, and he borrowed the attitude of this figure from *Ugolino and his sons* (by Reynolds), engravings of which were known in the Parisian studios at the time.

In 1820 Géricault went with *Le Radeau de la Méduse* to England where the picture was exhibited and brought him considerable money.¹

In England Géricault was influenced by the English genre school which he imitated in lithographs and paintings of urban and rustic subjects; he also looked at English sporting prints and produced *Le Derby d'Epsom*, now in the Louvre, in imitation; but above all he was impressed with the animal paintings of James Ward and Landseer.²

In England Géricault seems to have become (as Watteau became) avaricious. He now regarded his considerable private means as insufficient and returning to France in 1822 he engaged

¹ The sum mentioned by his biographers varies from 17,000 to 20,000 francs. I cannot translate this into present values. Géricault must also have made money from engravings of this picture; but he never was able to sell it; the Louvre acquired it at the sale of his pictures after his death. The *Officier de chasseurs à cheval* and *Le Cuirassier blessé* were bought (I believe at the same sale) by the Duc d'Orléans. The Louvre acquired them from the Louis-Philippe sale.

² Animal paintings by James Ward (1769-1859) can be seen in the London National Gallery (Millbank). In his handling of oil paint this most interesting artist, who must be reckoned an early contributor to the Romantic movement, anticipates Van Gogh. Géricault saw his pictures at the Academy and the British Institution, where he also saw works by Landseer who was then under twenty.

Landseer (1802-1873) was a very precocious painter. He exhibited pictures in the Academy when he was thirteen; and he scored successes at the British Institution in 1819 with *The Cat Disturbed*, in 1820 with *Alpine Mastiffs reanimating a distressed Traveller*, in 1821 with *The Seizure of a Boar*, and in 1822 with *The Larder invaded* for which he received a £150 premium from the Institution.

Géricault wrote from London to a friend: "*Vous ne pouvez pas vous faire une idée des beaux portraits de cette année et d'un grand nombre de paysages et de tableaux de genre; des animaux peints par Ward et par Landseer, âgé de dix-huit ans; les maîtres n'ont rien produit de mieux en ce genre...*"

Géricault also saw and admired Wilkie's *Chelsea pensioners reading the Waterloo Gazette* (which Wilkie painted for the Duke of Wellington whose descendants still own it).

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in business speculations in order to increase them. But the speculations were unsuccessful and before he died two years later he was almost ruined.¹

ix. *Eugène Delacroix*

BORN CHARENTON-SAINT-MAURICE 1798. DIED PARIS 1863

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery	The Baron Schwiter (Refused Salon 1827. Worked on 1830)
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Attila driving Beauty, Art and Pleasure before him (1855 ?)
London.	National Gallery	Sketches for the Palais Bourbon decorations
London.	Wallace Collection	The Execution of the Doge Marino Faliero, 1826
London.	Wallace Collection	Faust and Mephistopheles, Salon 1827
London.	Victoria and Albert Museum	The Good Samaritan, 1852
London.	Victoria and Albert Museum	The Shipwreck of Don Juan, 1839
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Abduction of Rebecca, 1846

¹ Géricault died at the age of thirty-three as the result of a fall from his horse. There is a tendency at the moment in France to overrate his work which was coarse and derivative (and incidentally the source of the painting of Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899)).

Géricault had a most disagreeable streak in his psychological constitution. In Rome he enjoyed and made drawings inspired by the brutal sport known as the *Barberi* in which riderless horses with spurs attached to them were thrashed into racing in Carnival time on the *Piazza del popolo*. His drawings for compositions show men thrashing horses and pulling their tails, horses biting one another, men stunning oxen in the slaughter-house, and negroes being beaten by slave drivers. He made a terra cotta group (which has disappeared) called *Nègre qui brutalise une femme*; he chose stallions for mounts and overrode them.

He did not marry; as my knowledge goes, he introduced no female figures into his compositions and he painted no pictures of women except several studies of mad women, one of which can be seen in the Lyons Museum.

His *Carabinier* (in the Louvre), painted when he was twenty-three, is probably his best picture; but it is no more than a good art-school study. The Wiltach Collection, Philadelphia, has the head and bust of a soldier with his head bandaged which is known as *The Wounded Soldier*.



EUGÈNE DELACROIX. Original Lion Hunt.

CH. L. B. 1071 v. 1071



Boston. Museum of Fine Arts

EUGÈNE DELACROIX. *Pietà.*

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New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Garden of Georges Sand at Nohant
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Jesus on Lake Gennesaret, 1853
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Decorative panels : Hesiod and the Muse The Captivity in Babylon The Death of St. John the Baptist The Drachma of the Tribute The Death of Seneca Aristotle describes the Animals
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Martyrdom of St. Sulpicius (sketch), c. 1855
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	Lion Hunt, c. 1834
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	Pictà, 1848
Chicago.	Art Institute	Dante's Barque
Chicago.	Art Institute	Oriental Lion Hunt, c. 1834
Philadelphia.	Fairmont Park	L'Amende honorable, 1831
Cleveland.	Museum of Art	Arabs resting in a forest
Paris.	Louvre	Dante et Virgile aux enfers, 1822
Paris.	Louvre	Les massacres de Scio : Familles grecques attendant la mort et l'esclavage, Salon 1824
Paris.	Louvre	La Mort de Sardanapale, Salon 1829
Paris.	Louvre	Le 28 juillet 1830. La Liberté guidant le peuple, 1830
Paris.	Louvre	Jeune tigre jouant avec sa mère, 1830
Paris.	Louvre	Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement, 1834
Paris.	Louvre	Le prisonnier de Chillon, 1834
Paris.	Louvre	Noce juive dans le Maroc, 1839
Paris.	Louvre	Hamlet et Horatio au cimetière, 1839
Paris.	Louvre	Prise de Constantinople par les Croisés, 1840
Paris.	Louvre	Le naufrage de Don Juan, 1840
Paris.	Louvre	Le Christ en croix, 1848
Paris.	Louvre	Lion et sanglier, 1853
Paris.	Louvre	L'enlèvement de Rebecca par le templier de Bois Guilbert, 1858
Paris.	Louvre	Chevaux arabes se battant dans une écurie, 1860
Paris.	Louvre	Medea furieuse allant poignarder ses enfants, 1862
Paris.	Louvre	Still life with landscape background, 1826

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Paris.	Louvre	Portrait of Chopin, 1838
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait of Georges Sand
Paris.	Louvre (Gallery of Apollo)	Apollon vainqueur du serpent Python, 1850-1851
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Prise de Constantinople par les Croisés (sketch)
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Les deux Foscari, 1845
Chantilly.	Musée Condé	Corps de garde marocain (before 1848)
Lyons.	Museum	Odalisque couchée, 1827
Lyons.	Museum	Derniers moments de l'Empereur Marc Aurèle, 1844
Lyons.	Museum	Assassinat de l'évêque de Liège, 1830-1831?
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	Aline la Mulâtresse, 1821
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	Exercice militaire des Marocains, 1832
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	L'Education d'Achille, 1842-1843
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	Femmes d'Alger dans leur intérieur, 1849
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	Daniel dans la fosse des lions, 1849
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	Michelangelo dans son atelier, 1850
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	Orphée secourt Eurydice mordue par un serpent, 1862
Rouen.	Museum	La bataille de Taillebourg, Salon 1837
Rouen.	Museum	La Justice de Trajan, Salon 1840
The Hague.	Mesdag Museum	Descent from the Cross
The Hague.	Mesdag Museum	The Eve of Waterloo

(a) *Delacroix's Life*

Eugène Delacroix's father was a lawyer, who eventually became Republican ambassador to Holland and Préfet at Marseilles. His mother's family included several artists. His parents had means, and Delacroix himself did not at first contemplate painting as a profession. After completing the ordinary education of his class he entered Guérin's studio as an amateur.¹

In 1819 after the death of both his parents he found himself penniless as the result of an unsuccessful lawsuit about the family property; and he was never completely without money difficulties for the rest of his life.

In 1820 he painted a picture for the convent of Les Dames du

¹ "Je veux y passer quelque temps," he wrote, "pour avoir au moins un petit talent d'amateur." (For Guérin, cf. p. 193.)

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Sacré-Cœur at Nantes which can still be seen there. This commission had been passed on to him by Céricault when he heard of his financial difficulties. Delacroix's next picture was the *Dante et Virgile* (now in the Louvre) which was a feature of the Salon of 1822 and was bought by the *Administration des Beaux Arts*. The celebrated *Massacres de Scio* (now in the Louvre) was in the Salon of 1824.

In these years Delacroix had been sharing a studio, in conditions of poverty, with an English artist named Fielding. In 1825 he went for a few months to England and stayed with Fielding; and there he called on Wilkie, Lawrence and Etty.¹

On his return to Paris Delacroix painted *La Mort de Sardanapale* (now in the Louvre) and in the next two years he had commissions from the Minister of the Interior and from Louis-Philippe. In 1830 Louis-Philippe bought his *Le 28 juillet 1830: La liberté guidant le peuple* (now in the Louvre) from the Salon, and awarded him the Legion of Honour in recognition of the picture's political significance. *L'Amende Honorable*, now in the Wiltach Collection in Philadelphia, was painted in 1831.

This ends the first period of Delacroix's activity. He was now thirty-three and his Romantic demonstration pictures *Les Massacres de Scio* and the *La Mort de Sardanapale* had brought him great celebrity and called forth virulent abuse from the partisans of the Institute. But there was no denying his amazing facility as a painter, or the richness of his pictorial conceptions; there was no escape from the dramatic appeal of such a subject as *La Mort de Sardanapale* with its subtitle in the catalogue which read: "*Couché sur un lit superbe au sommet d'un immense bûcher, Sardanapale donne l'ordre à ses eunuques et aux officiers du palais d'égorger ses femmes, ses pages, jusqu'à ses chevaux et ses chiens favoris, aucun des objets qui avaient servi à ses plaisirs ne devaient lui survivre . . .*" especially as the excitement of the subject was carried into the tumultuous rhythms of the picture and the vigorous touches of a "*brosse ivre*."

In 1832 Delacroix went to Morocco with the Comte de Mornay, French Ambassador to the Sultan; in the following

¹ Delacroix admired all these English artists. He also admired Constable. He stated that he had altered his own method of painting after contemplating Constable's *Hay Wain* (now in the National Gallery) in the Salon of 1824.

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year he went to Spain; on his return to Paris he exhibited paintings recording his experience on these journeys, and these pictures were the beginning of the wave of so-called "Orientalism" that now invaded the Salons.¹

The *Oriental Lion Hunt* (Pl. 85) now in the Chicago Art Institute, the *Lion Hunt* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the *Exercices militaires des Marocains* in the Musée Fabre at Montpellier are typical of Delacroix's "Oriental" pictures which greatly increased his reputation in Paris. His *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (now in the Louvre) was an official purchase from the Salon of 1834 and he was commissioned to paint *L'Entrée des Croisés à Constantinople* (now in the Louvre) for Versailles, and decorations for the Salon du Roi in the Palais Bourbon.

It was in fact now realised that Delacroix had superb decorative talents and these commissions for decorations were followed by commissions in 1844 for decorations in the Library of the Palais Bourbon, in 1845 for the Library of the Luxembourg, and in 1849 for the Salon de la Paix in the Hôtel de Ville and for the ceiling of Le Brun's Gallery of Apollo in the Louvre.²

Yet another aspect of his talent is seen in the splendid *Pietà* (Pl. 86) now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which was painted in 1848 when the artist was fifty.

Delacroix's final triumph came in 1855 at the *Exposition Universelle* where he had a gallery of his own filled with thirty-five of his most important pictures. The Romantic movement by this time had won all its battles and Delacroix was recognised by all intelligent people as its central figure though the general public preferred the work of his less vigorous imitators.

In that year also he received the commission for the decorations in the church of Saint-Sulpice.

In 1837 he had applied for a vacancy in the Institute and been refused. In 1838 he had applied again and been again refused.

¹ Cf. *The Modern Movement in Art*, p. 60, where I also refer to the work of Théodore Chassériau (1819-1856) who began as a follower of David and Ingres and ended as an imitator of Delacroix's "orientalism."

² Cf. pp. 77 and 81. Delacroix was able to get these official commissions because owing to his social position he had many highly-placed personal friends in political circles. He secured them in spite of the Institute's hostility.

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In 1849 he had applied a third time and been a third time refused. In 1853 he applied a fourth time and his application was not even considered. In 1857 when he was nearly sixty and had only six years more to live he applied a fifth time and was elected to a seat vacated by the death of one of his imitators.¹

(b) *Delacroix's Art*

Delacroix was the last of the Old Masters and the first great master of the modern school. He picked up the European tradition of decorative painting at the point where it had been left by the Venetians and Rubens. The art of Rubens had been the epic art of the Italian High Renaissance and early Baroque masters translated into Flemish. For the remainder of the century the followers of Rubens imitated the externals of his pictures. Then Watteau translated the Rubens epic into French lyrics and this in turn was eventually echoed in charming little tunes by the English painter Charles Conder (1868-1909) with whom the tradition breathed its last faint cadences and died.

Delacroix went back behind Watteau to Rubens himself. The Rubens series of Marie de Medicis panels was transferred, as noted, to the Louvre in 1818;² and in his youth Delacroix had doubtless seen magnificent works by the Venetians in the Musée Napoleon; here were masters who worked on a scale and in a spirit that aroused his ambition and when the time came to test his own capacities he found that he could challenge even in this majestic field.

To the modern student with his eye and mind attuned to the Cubist-Classical Renaissance the whole Romantic creed as represented by the work of Delacroix seems a lamentable heresy. Most of the material that went to the making of Delacroix's demonstration pictures seems to us absurd and vulgar. Trained by the classical calm and dignity of the pictures by Seurat, Cézanne, and the Cubists we can hardly bring ourselves to contemplate the tumultuous rhythms, the drama, and the rhetoric in Delacroix's pictures. From the modern standpoint which appreciates David's dictum *pas d'empoiement du pinceau* Delacroix's

¹ Paul Delaroche (1797-1856), painter of *The Princes in the Tower* and *The Death of Queen Elizabeth*, now both in the Luxembourg (cf. *The Modern Movement in Art*, pp. 57, 59 and 66).

² Cf. note, p. 205.

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brosse ivre seems sheer braggadocio, a form of exhibitionism that leaves us quite unmoved; and compared with the architectural deliberation that pervades the work of the new classical masters a painting by Delacroix seems not so much a picture as a series of dramatic records of the artist's sensuous reactions to emotive fragments collected in one frame.

But if we contemplate any individual passage in a picture by Delacroix, or one of the still life groups which he threw off now and then as relaxation, we find the artist's verve and use of colour an intoxicating vintage that it is hard if not impossible to resist; and thus it comes that Delacroix seems to us most essentially a master in a fragment like the decorative sketch *Hesiod and the Muse* (Pl. 84b) in Mr. Adolph Lewisohn's collection, or in the individual fragments of the *Oriental Lion Hunt* (Pl. 85); and that he seems above all a master when he abandons the *rubato* of his most characteristic pictures and gives us a relatively tranquil picture like the *Pietà* (Pl. 86) in the Museum at Boston, a work which recalls Tintoretto by whom it was obviously inspired.

In the later nineteenth century when great interest was taken in *methods* of painting Delacroix's technique was much applauded. His use of broken colour to increase the vitality of the picture's surface—a device already used by Watteau on a miniature scale—made a great appeal to the Impressionists. The modern student is less concerned with methods of painting. The Romantics and the Impressionists finally established for the artist a right to dispose his paint upon the canvas in spots or dashes or in any other manner that he might adopt or invent. When those movements degenerated it was seen that this freedom was, in itself, no aid to the creation of a work of art. But when Delacroix first proclaimed this freedom he was proclaiming a paradox; and by so doing he made possible the achievements of Manet, Renoir and Cézanne.¹

x. *Franco-Dutch Landscape Painters*

While liberalism and individualism were being symbolised in Delacroix's pictures, another aspect of the period—the growth

¹ Delacroix was a very prolific artist. He has left us over eight hundred pictures, a thousand minor works and some six thousand drawings,

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of the middle classes—was being symbolised in a group of French landscape painters who appeared at the same time.

After the arrogance of Charles X, Louis-Philippe made a show of democratic sentiment and posed deliberately as *le roi bourgeois*; he walked the streets of Paris, unattended, carrying an umbrella, and his Queen continued her needlework when she received the ladies of her Court. Modern bourgeois France as we know it began in fact about 1830; and these conditions created a new school of popular landscape painting of the kind which had appeared in similar conditions about 1630 in Holland.¹

The leading names among these Franco-Dutch landscape painters, some of whom worked a good deal in the region of Fontainebleau forest, are Jules Dupré (1812–1889), Théodore Rousseau (1812–1867), Charles-François Daubigny (1817–1878), and Henri Harpignies (1819–1916); with them we must associate Charles Jacque (1813–1894), who specialised in landscapes with ducks and geese and chickens, and Constant Troyon (1810–1865), who painted landscapes with cows, sometimes of a considerable size.

Some of the landscapes produced by this school were less obviously categoric than the Dutch seventeenth-century pictures which they resemble and by which they were influenced; the artists were affected by the Romantic movement and they often made their landscapes dramatic and emotive by recording the effects of light in nature which seem to correspond to human moods. This was notably the case with Théodore Rousseau whose work, moreover, sometimes shows qualities derived from the picturesque-classical tradition of French landscape; and it was also the case with Diaz de la Pena (1808–1876), a French painter of Spanish parentage, who alternated landscape with little pictures of nude groups influenced by Delacroix himself.

The Institute adopted an attitude of violent hostility to this school of popular landscape; it persecuted the artists with all

¹ It is usual to ascribe the blame for these Franco-Dutch landscapes to the influence of Constable and the English painters of the Norwich School who had begun to imitate Hobbema and other Dutch eighteenth-century popular landscape painters a little earlier. But the growth of the French middle class at this period would in any event have caused a recrudescence of this and other forms of popular art. (Cf. *An Introduction to Dutch Art*, p. 183).

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the means at its command ; and it was scarcely less hostile to Camille Corot, the outstanding French landscape painter of the period.

xi. *Camille Corot*¹ (1796-1875)

(a) *Corot's Life*

Camille Corot was the son of a Parisian coiffeur who married a Swiss modiste and then opened a *magasin de modes* in the rue du Bac, where he became prosperous and a *fournisseur* of the Tuileries. When Camille was nineteen he was an assistant in a draper's shop in the rue Richelieu ; he already drew and painted in his spare time but his parents refused to finance him for the career of an artist. Five years later the situation was much the same ; but that year saw the death of a poor relation whom Corot's father had supported and Camille now received this allowance with parental permission to devote himself to art.

This occurred in 1822 when Corot was twenty-six. He lived on this small allowance and other funds provided by his father, without selling a single picture, for the next sixteen years, and he did not begin to make a regular income from his work till he was nearly sixty, when he had already inherited his father's property. "*Camille s'amuse*" his father used to remark to his friends, just as Chardin's contemporaries—astonished at his later concentration on still-life paintings and his neglect of his opportunities for making money—remarked that "*M. Chardin ne peint que pour son amusement.*"²

From 1822 to 1825 Corot painted landscapes at Rouen, on the Normandy coast, and at his father's country house at Ville d'Avray ; in 1825 his father provided funds for a three years' stay in Italy and in 1834 he again provided money for a second visit with the proviso this time that the visit should not exceed six months. "*Nous ne sommes plus jeunes, ta mère et moi,*" his father said to him, "*ne nous abandonne pas trop longtemps.*" Corot

¹ For a catalogue of Corot's paintings and details of his life the student is referred to the works of Alfred Robaut and Etienne Moreau-Nelaton.

Most of the leading museums in Europe and America contain examples of Corot's work ; a characteristic series showing his work at all periods is dispersed in various galleries in the Louvre.

² Cf. note, p. 140.



Australia, Melbourne Museum

CAMILLE COROT, Venice.



Paris, MM. Paul Rosenberg Collection

CAMILLE COROT, Hofleur - Maisons sur les Quais.



L'Esprit, Musée
CAMILLE COROT, Dans l'atelier.



Paris, Musée de la Ville de Paris
PIERRE-PRUDENT PRUD'HON, Mme. Durresne.

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inherited his parents' largeness of heart. When he was himself an old man and dealers flocked round him he used to send them pictures by poor artists, whose work he respected, together with his own.

Corot sent examples of his numerous paintings year after year to the Salons, but nobody bought them. Eventually the Duc d'Orleans bought two in 1838. The State bought one the year after and another in 1842. In 1843 the Salon rejected his picture and the same thing happened the next year. In 1846 when he was fifty he received his first commission—a *Baptism of Christ*, which was ordered for the Church of Saint Nicolas-du-Chardonnet. In the same year he received the Legion of Honour. "*Puisque l'on décore Camille, il faut qu'il ait du talent*," said his father who thought at first that the decoration was intended for himself.

In 1849 a reconstitution of the Salon Jury had a considerable effect on Corot's situation. Under the Restoration Kings and Louis-Philippe the Jury was exclusively composed of the Institute caucus. When, after the Revolution of 1848, the Second Republic arrived, with Louis Bonaparte as President, the brilliant art historian Charles Blanc became a Director of the *Administration des Beaux Arts*, and the exhibition for that year was thrown open to everyone, without an intervening Jury, as it had been thrown open in the first Revolution in 1791.¹ The flood of popular landscapes and other popular pictures was so enormous at the 1848 Salon that the Jury was re-established in the following year, but its members were elected not by the Institute but by the votes of the whole body of exhibitors. In these conditions Corot found himself elected to the Jury and the Hanging Committee by the votes of the Franco-Dutch landscape painters who admired his work.

About this time he adopted his fluffy grey treatment of trees and foliage which the public admired because it resembled trees and foliage as recorded in photographs; and dealers began to think of securing his production.²

¹ Cf. p. 179.

² The dealers were encouraged by the action of Louis Bonaparte who as Napoleon III bought of his own volition Corot's *Souvenir de Marcoussis* (now in the Louvre) in the *Exposition Universelle* of 1855.

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Corot, personally, was a very agreeable companion. As he had never had to bother about selling his pictures, and as he had the sense to be content with his small independent means, he presented the engaging spectacle of a man with simple tastes who stood outside the struggle for existence and was always ready to be kind to other people. He spent a good deal of his time in visits to various friends and wherever he went he painted landscapes in the surrounding country.

When the Franco-Prussian war broke out he was seventy-four and by that time he had been making a large income from dealers for fifteen years. During the war he worked in his studio in Paris and he sent a sum of money to the mayor of his *arrondissement* for "*la confection des canons pour chasser les Prussiens des bois de Ville d'Avray.*" He died in Paris at the age of seventy-nine.¹

(b) Corot's Art

Corot was the first French artist of consequence to look at nature with a photographic eye. He worked in his early years with minor French landscape painters who still retained something of the picturesque-classical tradition of Vernet, Robert and Moreau; he was all his life a student of the work of the Old Masters; but, with a natural tendency to mechanical imitation, he had the misfortune to begin painting just before the arrival of the camera and to work in the years of his maturity in the first flush of the photographic period.

The photographic vision which pervades Corot's *œuvre* inevitably prejudices the modern student against it. We live in a photograph-sodden age. We have photographs thrust before us in the morning paper at breakfast and again in the afternoon; and many people go of their own volition in the evenings to establishments that exhibit still more photographs—photographs that succeed one another with lightning rapidity and are now accompanied, I am told, by noises that resemble human speech. The modern student, who has followed the magnificent efforts

¹ After Corot's death his pictures were so much sought after by collectors that they were forged in great numbers. But the number of his genuine works is extremely large because he never did anything but paint pictures from the age of twenty-six.

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made by the artists of the Cubist-classical Renaissance to drag painting from the morass of this photographic vision, cannot fail to rank Corot as an artist who succumbed. But he will recognise that Corot could not foresee the photographic tyranny of our own age; and that, though he had a photographic vision and imitated photographs, he also had a genuine simplicity of outlook that enabled him to steer clear of the Romantic movement, and a lyric quality in his sensibility that lifts his work above that of other painters of the photographic school.¹

Corot's pictures fall into several types. We have (a) early landscapes including a number painted in Italy, (b) subject-pictures with figures inserted into landscapes in the manner of Claude, (c) fluffy grey landscapes painted after 1850, and (d) photographic studies of figures.

In all these periods we find Corot seeking, unconsciously, for a compromise between the photographic vision and the achievements of the architectural artists of the past. The student will find it instructive to compare on the one hand his *Venice* (Pl. 87a), painted in 1834 and now in the Museum of Melbourne, with the views of Venice painted by Canaletto (1697-1768) who used a *camera-oscura*; and to compare on the other his sketch *Narni: Pont d'Auguste sur la Nera*, painted in 1826 and now in the Louvre, with Claude's drawing *The Tiber above Rome* (Pl. 128a) in the British Museum, and with the modern French painter André Derain's *Paysage du midi* (Pl. 128b) which I reproduce on the same page.²

Corot's continual contact with tradition will also be seen if his *Saint Jérôme*, painted in 1837 and now in the church of Ville d'Avray, be compared with *Saint Anthony and Saint Paul the Hermit* by Velasquez in the Prado, if his *Diane au bain*, painted

¹ Cf. note, p. 221. I have discussed the characteristics of the photographic vision in *The Modern Movement in Art*, pp. 76-112.

² *Narni: Pont d'Auguste sur la Nera* was a sketch for a picture *Le Pont de Narni* which Corot exhibited at his first appearance in the Salon of 1827. The Salon picture which is worked up into a classical-picturesque composition with large umbrella pines in the middle distance was hung in the Salon between paintings by Constable and Bonington; and Corot at his debut thus represented the picturesque-classical tradition hung between the Dutch seventeenth-century popular landscape tradition and the new Romantic movement.

COROT'S ART

in 1855 and now in the Bordeaux Museum, be compared with landscapes with figures by Claude, or if his *Homère et les Bergers*, shown in the Salon of 1845 and now in the Saint Lô Museum, be compared with *The Funeral of Phocion* (Pl. 35b) by Poussin.

There were moments in the period before 1850 when Corot almost arrived at a conscious concept of architectural space and the creation of a new type of architectural picture. In *Honfleur-maisons sur les quais* (Pl. 87b), which was painted about 1830 and is now in M. Paul Rosenberg's collection in Paris, he was within an inch of such achievement but his photographic vision was responsible for the rowing boat which has nothing to do with the picture and was inserted because it happened to be there at the moment when Corot was making his sketch.

Such incidental and accidental details together with incidental and accidental effects of light occur in the work of all photographic artists and the elimination of such elements was the first achievement of the Cubist-classical Renaissance.

After 1850 Corot made great efforts to recapture the secrets of the art of Claude and of Poussin's last phase. But by this time his eye was vitiated by photographs and he had acquired his degenerate naturalistic formula for the light on foliage and trees. There was thus a fatal disaccord between the type of picture at which he was aiming and the means which he employed to produce it; and there was a further disaccord because Corot in these subject pictures was generally more photographic in his landscape background than in his treatment of the figures.¹

In the 'sixties Corot's fluffy photographic foliage, in the grey colour of photographs, degenerated into a mannerism; and in the pictures of this period, turned out for the dealers, he abandoned even the attempt to remain in the field of perceptive and creative art. In his last years he returned to the manner of *Honfleur-maisons sur les quais* and he then used compositional effects which he had observed in photographs.²

Corot often painted photographic studies from models posed in the studio, and a series of such pictures dates from the period

¹ Cf. *The Modern Movement in Art* (Pls. 10a and 10b) where I reproduce trees and foliage from Corot's *Concert Champêtre*, painted in 1857 and now in the Louvre, and a photograph of similar trees and foliage on the same page.

² Cf. *The Modern Movement in Art*, p. 99.



CAMILLE COROT
Souvenir de Mortefontaine

Paris, L. 3110

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of the Franco-Prussian War when he worked exclusively in his studio in Paris. *La Femme à l'atelier* (Pl. 88b), painted in 1870 and now in the Museum at Lyons, is an example of these photographic studies. If we compare this picture with Prudhon's, *Mme Dufresne* (Pl. 88a), which I reproduce on the same page, we can see the difference between light and shade used as architectural elements in a picture, and light and shade copied in a photographic way. Prudhon perceived the model before him as a series of forms entirely independent of light and shade and he invented a picture of which an architectural disposition of light and shadow is an integral part. Corot with half-closed eyes recorded an accidental effect of light and shade before him and by so doing a semblance of forms has appeared upon his canvas; but the picture itself is as formless as a photograph because the artist has degraded his perception to the mechanical vision of the human eye—which is much the same as the vision of the camera's lens.

In the later nineteenth century when the photographic vision was officially regarded as the vision proper to an artist Corot's pictures were enormously admired, and his method of painting—known as painting “by the tone values”—was universally taught in schools. In the pictures painted “by the tone values” colour was reduced to a system of tinted greys; and many hundreds of thousands of grey pictures were produced in France. Of these the little marine paintings by Louis-Eugene Boudin (1824-1898) were among the most pleasant; and the method was seen forced to its extreme photographic limit in the portraits and figure studies of Eugene Carrière (1849-1906) and Fantin-Latour (1836-1904).¹

¹ All these artists were influenced by photographs. The Daguerreotype which influenced Ruskin and the English Pre-Raphaelites had little influence in France except, I fancy, on the work of Ingres (cf. p. 200) and Bastien-Lepage (1848-1884), an artist who substituted a Daguerreotype ideal for the Romantic elements in the art of Millet (who was himself a good deal influenced by photographs. Cf. note, p. 230). Corot was not, I think, influenced by Daguerreotypes. But he was fascinated by photographs and frequently sat to photographers himself.

REALISM AND THE SALON PUBLIC

xij. *Realism and the Salon Public*

Corot was the father of the Impressionist movement in French painting. But between Corot and the Impressionists there was a movement known as Realism which was an application to figure subjects of the principles of the Franco-Dutch imitative landscape already chronicled.

The Realist doctrine excluded imagination, invention, architectural construction, and Romantic comment. Its slogan was *un peintre ne doit peindre que ce que ses yeux peuvent voir*. The painters who submitted to this doctrine were popular artists and their pictures appealed to the Salon public of the time.

This Realist doctrine was launched in the first place by a man who was not himself a Realist of this calibre but a Romantic Realist—Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), an artist whose work the Salon public particularly detested.

Courbet described the aims which he pursued as follows: "*Savoir pour pouvoir, telle fut ma pensée. Être à même de traduire les mœurs, les idées, l'aspect de mon époque, selon mon appréciation; être non seulement un peintre, mais encore un homme; en un mot faire de l'art vivant, tel est mon but.*" For Courbet the essential part of this pronouncement was the qualification *selon mon appréciation*; and it was the evidence in his work of this qualification that rendered it odious to the Salon public.

It is impossible to understand the treatment to which Courbet and, later, the Impressionists were subjected by the Salon public unless we realise that a host of venal purveyors of popular art had now flattered that public into an attitude of extreme Philistinism.

In the eighteenth century the Salon public saw relatively few contemporary pictures; they began to see more when the exhibits became more numerous, as noted, in the days of the Revolution; in the first quarter of the nineteenth century the interest excited by the works of the Italian Old Masters in the *Musée Napoléon* competed with the interest in contemporary art; when the *Musée Napoléon* was dispersed at the Restoration, the biennial Salons, held in the Salon Carré of the Louvre, became the centre of focus, and under Louis-Philippe and the

REALISM AND THE SALON PUBLIC

Second Republic the Salons became steadily larger. The public thus acquired a large experience of popular genre pictures and of popular demonstration pictures in the pseudo-classical and pseudo-romantic manners produced in order to attract attention and advertise the painters' names.¹

The painters of these demonstration pictures posed as the guardians of our old friend the Grand Manner; and the uninstructed public adopted the products of this showmanship as their standard in judging works of art.

The venal popular and demonstration painters and the public thus revolved together in a vicious circle. The painters worked to achieve contact with the Salon public's average experience of phenomena and with that public's experience of their own pictures; and the public, thus flattered into a Philistine attitude, were entirely convinced that this flattery was the proper function of fine art.

The vicious circle became still more water-tight after 1855 because in that year the Government constructed for the *Exposition Universelle* the vast *Palais de l'Industrie* in the Champs Elysées; the Salons thereafter were held there and in order to fill the huge galleries of this new building the number of pictures shown was enormously increased and the public had correspondingly increased experience of mediocre and venal popular art produced to flatter them.²

In these conditions the Salon painters found it easy to lead the public to the active persecution of original artists; and persecutions thus fomented have been an unedifying feature of art-politics in Paris from 1840 to the present day.

The first victim was Courbet whose work and curious career we must now consider.

¹ Paul Delaroche (cf. note, p. 213) and Thomas Couture (cf. pp. 247 and 248) were typical painters of these popular demonstration pictures. For the *Musée Napoléon*, cf. p. 190.

² The Salons were held in the *Palais de l'Industrie* till 1899; it was then pulled down and the present *Grand Palais* and *Petit Palais* were built (with the Pont Alexandre) for the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900. Since then the Salons have been held in the *Grand Palais* where some eight thousand pictures and large quantities of sculpture are exhibited each spring.

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xiii. *Gustave Courbet*

BORN ORNANS 1819. DIED LA TOUR DE PEILZ 1877.

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Deer in a Forest
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	The Pool
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Seascape
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Self Portrait
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Snow Scene
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	L'Orage
London.	Victoria and Albert Museum	L'Immensité, 1869
London.	Victoria and Albert Museum	Landscape
Scotland.	Sir W. Burrell Collection	L'Aumône d'un mendiant à Ornans, Salon, 1868
Scotland.	Sir W. Burrell Collection	Les Laveuses
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Nude Woman with a parrot, Salon 1866
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Les Demoiselles de Village, ¹ Salon 1852
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Brook of the Black Well, before 1855
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Coast Scene
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Snow Scene
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Amazon, c. 1856
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Polish Exile, 1858
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Source, c. 1862
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Young Bather, 1866
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Girl with the Mirror: Whistlers "Jo," ² 1856
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Deer
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Marine—the Waterspout, 1876
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	The Quarry (La Curée), before 1855
Chicago.	Art Institute	La Mère Gregoire, c. 1872
Chicago.	Art Institute	Alpine Scene, 1874
Philadelphia.	Wiltach Collection	A view of Ornans
Philadelphia.	Wiltach Collection	A Mountain Stream, 1873
Philadelphia.	Wiltach Collection	The Waves

¹ Another version of this picture is in the collection of Mr. Charles Roberts, Leeds.

² There is another version of this picture, which is also known as *La Belle Irlandaise*, in the collection of Messrs Reid and Lefevre, London.



Minneapolis, Institute of Arts

GUSTAVE COURBET. Deer in a Forest.



MILLET 15. Millet 15

JEAN-FRANÇOIS MILLET, *La Soupe*,

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Philadelphia.	Academy of Fine Arts	Urbain Cuenot, 1852
Philadelphia.	Academy of Fine Arts	Le grand chêne d'Ornans
Worcester (Mass.).	Art Museum	Low Tide
Minneapolis.	Institute of Arts	The Roe Covert, c. 1866
Paris.	Louvre	Self Portrait. L'Homme Blessé, 1844
Paris.	Louvre	Un enterrement à Ornans, 1849
Paris.	Louvre	Berlioz, 1850
Paris.	Louvre	L'homme à la ceinture de cuir (self portrait), before 1855
Paris.	Louvre	L'Atelier du peintre : Allégorie réelle, 1855
Paris.	Louvre	Combat de cerfs, Salon 1861
Paris.	Louvre	Remise des chevreuils, Salon 1866
Paris.	Louvre	Mer orageuse, 1870
Paris.	Petit Palais	Self portrait with a black dog, 1842
Paris.	Petit Palais	P.-J. Proudhon, 1853
Paris.	Petit Palais	Les Demoiselles au bord de la Seine, Salon 1867
Paris.	Petit Palais	La Sieste, Salon 1869
Paris.	H. Matisse Collection	La blonde endormie
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	L'homme à la pipe (self por- trait, 1846)
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	Baudelaire, 1853
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	Baigneuses, 1853
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	Le Rencontre : "Bonjour M. Courbet," 1854
Montpellier.	Musée Fabre	Bruyas, 1854
Ornans.	Hôtel de Ville	Courbet in prison, c. 1872
Ornans.	Hôtel de Ville	Le Château de Chillon, 1874-76
Ornans	Hôtel de Ville	Retour de Chasse
Lille	Museum	Une après-dinée à Ornans, Salon 1849
Dresden	Museum	Les Casseurs de pierres, Salon 1850
The Hague.	Mesdag Museum	Mountain Landscape
The Hague.	Mesdag Museum	Reclumbent Nude
The Hague.	Mesdag Museum	Chevreuil mort
The Hague.	Mesdag Museum	Au bord du lac
The Hague.	Mesdag Museum	Road in Sunlight

Jean-Désiré-Gustav Courbet was born in the village of Ornans that lies in the harsh and gloomy country near the Jura

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mountains. He was the son of a wealthy farmer and after refusing to study law he worked in one or two art schools in Paris. His earliest works, painted when he was about twenty-three, already reveal a choice of Rembrandt and the Spaniards as his favourite masters in the Louvre.

In the 1849 Salon, which included Corot, as noted, on an exceptionally liberal Jury, Courbet exhibited the self portrait known as *L'Homme à la ceinture de cuir* (now in the Louvre) and also *Une après-dinée à Ornans* (now in the Museum at Lille) which was remarked by Charles Blanc, bought by him for the State, and awarded a medal.¹

In 1850 Courbet took full advantage of his *hors concours* position. He sent nine pictures to the Salon including the celebrated *Un Enterrement à Ornans* now in the Louvre, the *Casseurs de pierres* now in Dresden, and the self-portrait known as *L'Homme à la pipe* now at Montpellier.

The originality of *Un Enterrement à Ornans*—a group of intensely romantically observed peasantry round a grave—horrified both the Salon painters and the public debauched by popular fare; and the Salon authorities led the opposition by suggesting that the subject of this picture and of the *Casseurs de pierres* (which depicts an old peasant and a boy breaking stones) were offensively socialistic. Courbet who at this period had nothing but a normal sympathy with the peasants of the regions round his home thus found himself regarded as a dangerous socialist in Paris.²

In the Salon of 1853 Courbet exhibited his *Baigneuses* now at Montpellier; the Salon painters pointed out that the massive

¹ The acquisition of a medal was very important for an artist at this time, because it placed him *hors concours* for future exhibitions to which he could contribute without submitting to the Jury. Courbet's later works would all have been rejected from the Salons if he had not thus acquired the right to exhibit at this early stage. For Charles Blanc, cf. p. 217.

² Stonebreakers entered English art in 1858 when there were two pictures of this subject in the Royal Academy both praised by Ruskin "because the humblest subjects are pathetic when Pre-Raphaelitically rendered." The pictures were *The Stonebreaker* (which depicted a boy breaking stones and is now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool) by John Brett, and *Thou wert our Conscript* (which depicted an old man asleep over his heap) by A. Wallis.

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figures of the women showed their plebeian origin and that this choice of plebeian models showed the painter's socialist bent.

The *Baigneuses* was bought by Alfred Bruyas, a collector of Montpellier, who became Courbet's host and patron about this time and bought a number of his pictures including the *Portrait of Baudelaire* which was painted in 1853.¹

In 1854 Courbet went to stay with Bruyas at Montpellier and painted the celebrated *Le Rencontre : Bonjour M. Courbet*, which shows a meeting between himself and Bruyas on a country walk.

In the following year, at the age of thirty-six, he painted the remarkable picture, now in the Louvre, which he called *L'Atelier du peintre : Allégorie réelle*. This shows the artist seated at his easel with a nude woman standing by his side ; one half of the studio is occupied by a group of the artist's models who had figured in his realistic pictures—labourers, peasants, the priest of the *Enterrement à Ornans* and so forth ; the other half is occupied by a group of his friends including Bruyas, Baudelaire, Champfleury, who was one of the first to praise his pictures, and the socialist writer Proudhon whose portrait he had painted in 1853.

Courbet sent *L'Atelier*, together with *Un Enterrement à Ornans*, which he wished to exhibit a second time, to the *Exposition Universelle* of 1855, where his *hors concours* privilege did not apply, because there was a special International Jury. Both pictures were rejected. Courbet was indignant. He had plenty of money, as he had an allowance from Ornans and he had already, as noted, procured some patrons for his pictures, which he never sold except for considerable sums, and he accordingly decided to put up a shed and hold a one-man show of his own in the Exhibition. In this one-man show he placed the two rejected

¹ This passed with the other Courbets in the Bruyas Collection to the Musée Fabre at Montpellier in 1868. It shows the poet seated at a table smoking a pipe and reading a book. It is at present in need of cleaning and conditioning and it is hung at such a height that it cannot be examined in detail. It would seem, however, to be quite uninteresting as a portrait and to suggest nothing of the sitter's characteristics except the massive brow. Baudelaire himself thought nothing of the picture. The portrait of Baudelaire in *L'Atelier du peintre* was evidently painted from it.

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pictures and forty others. The show was a failure; hardly anyone went in.¹

Courbet was very ambitious; he was also vain and not at all shrewd. He had collected round himself a number of young painters who flattered him and called him *maître*, and he regarded himself as an important *chef d'école*. At the same time he began to live up to his new reputation as a socialist in which he was encouraged by Proudhon and a group of young socialists; he thus began to regard himself also as a *chef de partie* and painted *Le Retour de la Conférence* which seems really to have been a socialist propaganda picture.²

Courbet's socialism had very little effect on his work. He only painted two socialistic pictures—*Le Retour de la Conférence* and *L'Aumône d'un mendiant* (1868) now in the Burrell Collection in Scotland; but it brought him disaster later in his life.

At the beginning of 1870 he was offered the Legion of Honour, and he refused it in offensive terms. When the Second Empire came to an end in September he was thus in the public eye as a militant socialist and he was called on by the new régime to act as President of a *Commission des Beaux Arts* in charge of the nation's art treasures. In this position he doubtless indulged in memories of Louis David and dreams of an art-dictatorship; and when the Commune arrived in 1871 he became a Deputy in the *Assemblée Nationale*. In the civil war that

¹ But Delacroix (who was then nearly sixty and had just been refused membership of the Institute for the fourth time by the Salon caucus, cf. p. 213) went and noted in his Diary: "*Je vais voir l'exposition de Courbet. J'y reste seul pendant près d'une heure. J'y découvre un chef d'œuvre dans son tableau refusé (L'Atelier). Je ne pouvais m'arracher de cette vue. . . . On a refusé là un des ouvrages les plus singuliers de ce temps.*"

Courbet arranged another independent one-man show of a hundred of his pictures in the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867. This also was a complete failure.

² *Le Retour de la Conférence* was anti-clerical in character. It represented a procession of priests coming from a Conference where it was obvious that many had had too much to drink. The picture was huge in size. Courbet sent it to the 1864 Salon where the Jury, who could not reject it owing to his *bors concours* position, procured a special decree of the Government in order to reject it on political grounds. The picture was subsequently bought by a religious gentleman and destroyed.



H. HARPIGNIES
Saint Privé

Birmingham Art Gallery

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raged in Paris from March to May of that year the *Colonne Vendôme* was overthrown. This was a tragic misfortune for Courbet because as President of the *Commission des Beaux Arts* he had written a memorandum suggesting that this emblem of the Empire should be taken down. After the Commune when the Thiers Government was taking drastic vengeance on the *Communards* Courbet was arrested and held responsible for the destruction of the monument; and he was condemned to six months' imprisonment and ordered to reconstruct the column at his own expense.¹

Courbet was a man of means but he was quite unable to produce the 400,000 francs required by this condemnation. He was also morally shattered by the failure of his dreams of a Davidian career. He escaped accordingly, when an opportunity occurred, to Switzerland, and there a few years later he died at the age of fifty-eight.

Courbet's main activity as an artist was distinct from his position as *chef d'école* and also from his position as *chef de partie*. He was a truly original artist who painted numerous figure subjects, landscapes with animals, and seascapes. He was not content with the photographic vision but always reinforced it to perception; and that perception, though harsh, was extremely personal. Courbet demonstrated that the Romantic stress of emotive fragments could be accomplished without any of the accessories—the Arab steeds and waving banners—that we find in works by Delacroix; he made it clear that the most

¹ The Place Vendôme, as noted, was originally Place des Conquêtes when it was laid out under Louis XIV (cf. note, p. 97). It then contained an equestrian statue of Louis XIV by Girardon, which is now in the Louvre. The *Colonne Vendôme* was erected in 1805 to celebrate Napoleon's victories and it was then surmounted by a bronze statue of Napoleon as a Roman Emperor. In 1814 the Royalists under Louis XVIII took down the statue, melted down the metal and remade it as the statue of Henri IV on the Pont Neuf, on the principle of renewal with the past already noted in the official Restoration commissions for pictures (cf. p. 194). In place of the statue a fleur-de-lys was placed on the column. In 1833 Louis-Philippe replaced the fleur-de-lys by a statue of Napoleon in uniform and a cocked hat; in 1863 Napoleon III removed this to the Invalides and put back a copy of the original statue. When the column was re-erected after the *communards* had overthrown it the present statue was made; this repeats the original type (cf. note, p. 198). The column itself, of course, is an imitation of Trajan's column in Rome.

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familiar fragments can be made emotive when recorded by an original mind.

Technically he was also a very individual painter. He often applied his colours with a palette knife instead of a brush—a procedure which he initiated.¹

As a result of this procedure and of his intense perception Courbet's paintings are often rich in quality and this applies especially to his pictures of deer in forests such as *The Roe Covert* (Pl. 89) now in the Minneapolis Institute, and some of his seascapes which are very dramatic. His colour varies a good deal as he sometimes used a light scale and sometimes a darker one. It is usually harsh and unsubtle; occasionally—especially in the seascapes—he achieved a vitreous green that had not appeared in painting since Rubens.

As Courbet did not succumb to the photographic vision his work appeals to students of the later nineteenth-century efforts to escape from that vision.²

xiv. *Daumier and Guys*

Under the Restoration Kings and Louis-Philippe there were fierce battles about the freedom of the Press, and the political

¹ Many of Courbet's pictures are partly painted with a brush and partly with a palette knife. But he sometimes painted the whole picture with a palette knife; the *Road in Sunlight*, in the Mesdag Museum, in The Hague, is an example. Cézanne at one period copied this technique (cf. p. 311).

² Another Romantic Realist, whose vision was, however, on the photographic side, was Jean-François Millet (1814-1874), painter of the well-known *L'Angélus* in the Louvre.

Millet translated the old Dutch tradition of the peasant genre picture into the new Romantic language of his day. At moments he achieved the profoundly intimate contact with his subject that we have noted in the work of Louis Le Nain and Chardin; *La Soupe* (Pl. 90), in the Marseilles Museum, is a picture of this kind.

Millet was himself a peasant and he painted sign-boards and other hack works for a living for many years. He was nearly sixty before a dealer assured him a regular income.

He is well represented in the Louvre, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, in the Chicago Art Institute, and in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

Alphonse Legros (1837-1899) was also a Romantic Realist. He imitated both Courbet and Millet. He came to England at Whistler's suggestion in 1875 and was made Professor at the Slade School.

DAUMIER AND GUYS

cartoons of the period were extremely virulent. The history of these cartoons is outside my subject but I must refer to one cartoonist, Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), whose paintings and drawings are very highly ranked to-day.

Daumier was the son of a glass painter and his talents were first discovered by Lenoir, the creator of the first museum in Paris.¹ He learned to lithograph in his youth and made a meagre living as a lithographic illustrator all his life.

He began as a political cartoonist on a paper called *Caricature*, in 1830, and in 1832 he was imprisoned for six months for a caricature of Louis-Philippe called *Gargantua swallowing bags of gold extracted from the people*. *Caricature* was replaced by *Charivari* in 1835 and Daumier worked on this paper for forty years producing four thousand lithographs—an average of nine a month.

In these lithographs Daumier appeared not only a political cartoonist but also a satirist of social life. He picked up the tradition of the *gravures de modes* and transformed it to a tradition of *gravures de mœurs* which had already appeared in England in the work of Hogarth and Rowlandson.²

While he earned his living in this way he also made drawings of contemporary life, modelled little caricature heads of personalities observed in public places, and painted pictures; but only his lithographs were known in his lifetime and he was never able to sell any of his other works.

At the age of sixty-nine his eyesight failed and he retired in poverty to a country cottage which had been given him some years before by Corot. The Government of the Third Republic gave him a small pension as a reward for a lifetime devoted to republican propaganda. He died two years later.³

On the staff of *Charivari* Daumier had Balzac as a collaborator, and Balzac said of him: "*Ce garçon a du Michel-ange sous la peau*." This to some extent was true; but it was less the spirit of Michelangelo, the first Romantic, than that of Rembrandt, the

¹ Cf. note, p. 180.

² His most notable follower in this field was Jean-Louis Forain (1852-1931).

³ After Daumier's death all his paintings and drawings were acquired from his widow by a syndicate of dealers.

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second, which resided in Daumier, and the spirit found expression in a language that was largely borrowed from Delacroix and Jean-François Millet—as we see in the celebrated *Wagon de troisième classe* formerly in Sir James Murray's collection in London and now in a private collection in Canada.

At the same time we find in Daumier's paintings the pre-occupation with formal relations which we have already encountered in pictures like *Les Amusements de la vie privée* (Pl. 60a) and *La Récureuse* (Pl. 63) by Chardin; and this quality gives architectural significance to pictures like *Les Amateurs d'listampes* (Pl. 91b), now in Messrs. Reid and Lefevre's collection which I reproduce on the same page as *Les Amateurs d'listampes* (Pl. 91a) by Boilly who concentrated on surface polish and the imitation of folds and textures in the tradition of the *tableau de modes*.¹

In his drawings Daumier used Rembrandt's technique and he worked to some extent in Rembrandt's spirit. But he found it hard, with a mind blunted by long drudgery at journalistic lithographs, to escape from caricature. The difference between the Romantic artist's distortions designed to stress the emotivity of characteristic features, and the caricaturist's distortions designed to render those characteristics funny, is a very fine one. Daumier in his most impressive drawings remained on the Romantic side, but sometimes he was on the caricaturist's side, as in his lithographs. I reproduce a typical drawing, *Les Amateurs de peinture* (Pl. 92), now in the Cleveland Museum of Art.

We see Daumier at his very highest level in the *Don Quixote* painting (Pl. 93) in Mr. Samuel Courtauld's collection. This picture, which is almost a monochrome, achieves an astonishing result with great economy of means; it combines the emotivity of Romantic painting with a large degree of the architectural stability of classical art; and Daumier here demonstrates that an equestrian group can live and move before us though the artist has not delineated lapels or harness, buttons or bits, eyes or noses, fingers or toes.

The Salon painters and the Salon public of Daumier's day would have preferred this picture as it might have been painted

¹ Cf. pp. 164-168.



London. Messrs. Reid and Lefevre Collection
HONORÉ DAUMIER, Les Amateurs d'Estampes.



Paris. Louvre
LOUIS-LEOPOLD BOILLY, Les Amateurs d'Estampes.



Collection of the
Museum of Modern Art

HONORÉ DAUMIER, *Les Amateurs de Peinture*.

CONSTANTIN GUYS

by Boilly. There are possibly people now living who share their point of view.¹

Constantin Guys

Constantin Guys (1805-1892) also drew for the illustrated papers and produced other work that is valued to-day.

He was the son of upper middle-class French parents. At eighteen he fought with Byron in the Greek War. Four years later he became a *dragon* in the French Army. About 1830 he left the Army and travelled for some years in Spain, Italy, Bulgaria, Egypt and Algeria where he made a number of sketches. Returning to Paris he started to sell these drawings and to make others of operas, ballets and so forth which he sold to the *Illustrated London News*. For that paper he then went as war correspondent to the Crimea and he was present at Inkermann and Balaclava.

At this stage he seems to have quarrelled with his aged father, who had married a girl of sixteen, and to have gone in the 'forties to London where he gave lessons in French and drawing. In the 'fifties he returned to Paris and became an eccentric recluse; the numerous *dessins de mœurs*, on which his reputation rests, date from the 'fifties, 'sixties and 'seventies.

Baudelaire made his acquaintance in 1859 and published in 1863 in the *Figaro* the celebrated articles on his work called *Le peintre de la Vie Moderne*, in which at the artist's request he referred to him simply as "M. G."²

In 1885 when he was eighty, Guys took several portfolios of his drawings to the Musée Carnavalet and handed them to the porter. The drawings were unsigned and the parcel contained no name or address. The Curator, however, realised that they

¹ Other examples of Daumier's drawings and paintings can now be seen in the London National Gallery, Millbank, and Victoria and Albert Museum; in the Louvre; in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the Chicago Art Institute, and other museums. Mrs. Charles Payson, New York, has his *Audience at the Théâtre Français*.

² These were written in 1859. But Baudelaire, who after the *Fleurs du Mal* prosecution had great difficulty in getting his work published, was not able to sell them till 1863.

CONSTANTIN GUYS

must be the work of Baudelaire's *Peintre de la Vie Moderne* and he carefully preserved them.¹

Later in the same year Guys was run over by a carriage in the street and he was bedridden for the remaining seven years of his life. He died at the age of eighty-seven.

Guys was a most engaging artist and his drawings and water-colours constitute a fascinating chronicle of Parisian *mœurs* under the Second Empire. He drew entirely from memory, and his mind registered both psychological and architectural impressions. In practice he began by recording his architectural impressions; the subject first appeared on the paper as an architectural arrangement of light and shade; then he went over this adding specific form and psychological stresses; finally, sometimes but not always, he added lines with a pen.

His work had an influence on Manet who was doubtless introduced to it by Baudelaire. Both Manet and Baudelaire owned Guys' drawings.²

¹ These drawings, which include many of the finest surviving examples of Guys' work, are still in the Musée Carnavalet.

² Guys gave Baudelaire a number of his drawings; and Baudelaire, in 1859, sent a drawing of a Turkish woman by Guys as a Christmas present to his mother, Mme Aupick, who had lived in Constantinople; she did not acknowledge the present and he wrote her three days later: "Do not scruple to tell me (if it is your opinion) that you think the Turkish lady is very ugly. I am afraid you are not very strong on the arts but that does not reduce my affectionate feelings and my respect for you." Mme Aupick preferred two heads by Greuze which her husband had acquired.

A drawing by Guys (now in Baron Gourgaud's collection in Paris) called *La Promenade au bois* must have been seen by Manet before he painted his *Concert aux Tuileries* now in the London National Gallery, Millbank; in Baron Gourgaud's collection there is also a full-length wash drawing called *Une Dame*, which is known to have belonged to Manet and certainly influenced his painting.

The student is referred (a) to the hundred and seventy excellent reproductions that accompany Mr. P. G. Konody's translation of Baudelaire's articles, published by "The Studio" as *The Painter of Victorian Life*, and (b) to Gustave Geffroy's book on Guys which reproduces some of the finest drawings in the Musée Carnavalet.



London, S. Courtauld Collection

HONORÉ DAUMIER. Don Quixote.



Boston - Museum of Fine Arts

GUSTAVE COURBET, *La Carrière* (The Quarry).



U.S.A. - Princeton

EDGAR DEGAS, *Le Départ*.

PART SIX

THE IMPRESSIONISTS

- i. *The Impressionist Movement*
- ij. *Edouard Manet*
- iiij. *Claude Monet*
- iv. *Auguste Renoir*
- v. *Edgar Degas*
- vi. *Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec*

THE IMPRESSIONISTS

i. *The Impressionist Movement*

The Impressionists adopted Courbet's theory of Realism in respect of their choice of subjects, and in their technique they followed Corot's photographic procedures which they developed to suit their several needs. Manet was the pioneer of the movement; Renoir proved himself, in the end, the great master; Monet, whose use of colour was architectural, anticipated the Cubists in this way; Degas was a Romantic journalist whose work was pushed to its logical conclusion by Toulouse-Lautrec.

Other artists connected with the movement were Camille Pissarro (1830-1903), Alfred Sisley (1840-1899), Frédéric Bazille (1841-1870), Berthe Morisot (1840-1895), Eve Gonzalez (1850-1883) and Mary Cassatt (1845-1926).¹

¹ Pissarro, son of a French Jewish father and a Creole mother, was an honest intelligent man who had intellectual contact with all the Impressionist masters and also with Gauguin, Cézanne and Seurat, a contact that was always mutually beneficial (cf. note, p. 280). He was influenced successively by Corot, Millet and the artists of the later movements; his painting was prudent and conscientious. He was one of the first French artists to experiment with the bird's-eye view that occurs in Japanese prints. He applied this with success to street scenes in his later years. In *Mi-carême sur les Boulevards* (Pl. IX), painted in 1897, we see him at his best.

Sisley was born in Paris of English parents. He began as an amateur with an allowance from his father. In 1870 his father was ruined and thereafter he lived in real poverty for the rest of his life. In his art he enlivened Corot's photographic vision with Monet's colour and in this formula he produced many charming little landscapes of which *La route de Versailles* (Pl. XI) is an example.

Bazille who was associated with the Impressionist artists in the early days was killed in the Franco-Prussian War. He might have developed into an artist of consequence. The Louvre has his *Réunion de famille* (1869) and *La Robe rose*, the Luxembourg his *Atelier de l'artiste* and *Réunion de famille*, and the Musée Fabre, at Montpellier, his *Vue de Village* (1868), which shows a young peasant girl against a landscape with a view of Castelnau in the distance.

Berthe Morisot was a granddaughter of Fragonard and at first an informal pupil of Corot and afterwards a regular pupil of Manet whose brother she married. She imitated Manet's technique in his Impressionist pictures and achieved at times very pleasant effects of spontaneity and colour. *La*

THE IMPRESSIONIST MOVEMENT

The Impressionist movement was a studio experiment. The artists all adopted the position of the research scientist working in his laboratory to solve a problem of his own selection considered as an end in itself. They did not regard themselves as tradesmen, like the artists of the old *Maîtrise*, or as members of a liberal profession like Claude and Poussin, or as professional craftsmen like Le Brun or Boucher, or as propagandists in a battle of contemporary ideas like Delacroix and Courbet. They regarded themselves, as Corot, and possibly Chardin and Watteau had regarded themselves, as servants of a vocation; and, therefore, from the standpoint of bourgeois society, they painted, like Chardin and Corot, for their own "amusement."¹

The persecution to which the Impressionist painters were subjected had its source, as noted, in the camp of the popular and demonstration artists of the Salon; and conditions, when Manet was ridiculed in 1865, and the other Impressionists were ridiculed in the 'seventies, were much the same as they had been when Courbet appeared, except (a) that in 1863 the Salon had become an annual, instead of a biennial function and the public experience of popular Salon painting was, therefore, increased, and (b) that the Salon Jury had again developed to a bigoted caucus.²

The ridicule and really scandalous abuse showered on the

Toilette (Pl. 123a), now in the Chicago Art Institute, shows the light touch characteristic of her work.

Eve Gonzalez was a pupil of Manet who imitated the manner which he employed in painting her portrait (Pl. 99). Her picture *La Loge*, quite a good imitation, is now in the Louvre.

Mary Cassatt was born in Pittsburg and worked under Renoir and Degas. She is well represented in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

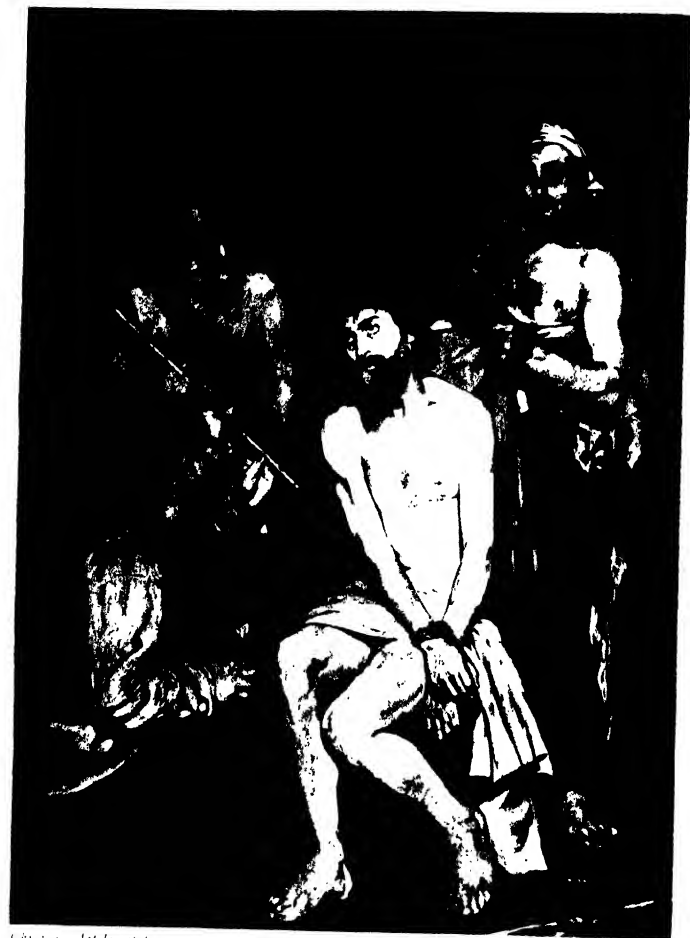
¹ Cf. note, p. 140, p. 216 and Preface § v.

² After the 1848 Revolution the Jury, as noted, was elected each year by the exhibitors at the previous Salon. Under the Second Empire the system was altered, and the Jury was composed partly of members nominated by the *bors concours* exhibitors (cf. note, p. 226) and partly of members nominated by the *Administration des Beaux Arts*. This system secured the re-election year after year of the same Jury which systematically excluded originality and works which might divert attention from their own productions. The rejections in 1863 were so scandalous that the Emperor permitted the famous *Salon des Refusés* as a protest (cf. p. 240).



New York. Metropolitan Museum

EDOUARD MANET. Victorine en costume d'Espada.



Christus in der Knecht

EDOUARD MANET. Jesus insulted by the Soldiers.

THE IMPRESSIONIST MOVEMENT

original French artists of this period were directed partly against the supposed socialistic and immoral tendencies of their productions. In the case of Courbet the Salon artists had pretended to find Socialism in *Un Enterrement à Ornans*, *Les Casseurs de pierres*, and *L'Atelier : Allégorie réelle*. In the same way when Cézanne first appeared they tried to discredit him by describing his pictures as obviously the work of a *Communard*. Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* and *Olympia* were attacked as indecent and there can be no doubt that the public which had then very little experience of Romantic-Realistic nude painting were genuinely shocked by both pictures. It was, of course, the duty of the Salon painters to explain to the public the real relation between Manet's *Olympia* and Giorgione's *Venus* in Dresden, Titian's *Venus* in Florence, and Titian's *Venus and the man playing the Organ* in Madrid ; and also the relation of Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (Pl. 97b) to Giorgione's *Concert Champêtre* (Pl. 46b). They did not do so because (a) it did not suit their purpose, and (b) they were probably unacquainted with the Italian works in question—the bigotry and ill-nature of such artists being frequently accompanied by a remarkable ignorance of the history of art (cf. note, p. 251).

But the main attacks, in the case both of Courbet and the Impressionists, were directed against the technical procedures of the artists.

Courbet, as noted, applied his paint frequently with a palette knife ; Manet painted his shadows into his lights instead of the prevailing practice of painting his lights into his shadows ; and after 1870 all the Impressionists painted in bright tints and with little touches of divided or broken colour. Left to themselves the public would probably have ignored these original artists as they ignored Corot for forty years, and they would have been mildly puzzled by these innovations when they chanced to come their way. There is nothing in the use of a palette knife for the application of colour, or in the use of bright tints and spots and dashes, which naturally arouses indignation in an average common-sensed decent-minded middle-class man. But the popular Salon artists stigmatised these technical devices as heinous, indeed as almost bestial, crimes, and encouraged the general public to persecute the criminals and wallow in the

THE IMPRESSIONIST MOVEMENT

pleasure of ridiculing technical procedures which happened to be new.

The history of the Impressionists' struggles is well known and can now be briefly told.

From 1859 to 1874 Manet fought the Salon painters and the Salon public almost single-handed.

In 1863 the Salon Jury's persecution of their rivals reached a point when protest became inevitable and the rejected artists, including Manet, Pissarro and Whistler, appealed directly to the Emperor who ordered a gallery in the *Palais de l'Industrie*, where the Salon itself was held, to be allocated to the rejected pictures; and the Emperor himself accompanied by the Empress officially visited this *Salon des Refusés*¹.

In 1874 a group of thirty artists including Boudin, Pissarro, Monet, Sisley, Berthe Morisot, Renoir, Degas and Cézanne, formed themselves into an exhibiting society (with the title *Société anonyme des artistes, peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs*), as a protest against their treatment by the Salon Jury.²

Boudin was then fifty, Monet was thirty-four, Renoir was thirty-three, Degas forty, Pissarro forty-four, and Cézanne thirty-five. Manet, then forty-two, did not join and he never exhibited with this group—(which later changed its name to *Peintres Impressionistes*)—though he helped the members in many ways.

The Société's first exhibition was held in the same year on the Boulevard des Capucines in the studio of the photographer Nadar, an extraordinary man who contrived to be an aeronaut, a caricaturist and an intimate friend of Baudelaire as well as a photographer.³

¹ Cf. note, p. 238.

² In so doing they had the precedent of the *Société des Amis des Arts*, founded as a protest against the Academy's tyranny just before the Revolution (cf. p. 179).

³ In 1863 when Nadar intended to go to London, Baudelaire gave him a letter of introduction to Whistler in which he said: "*Un de mes meilleurs et de mes plus vieux amis, M. Felix Nadar, va à Londres, dans le but, je crois, de raconter au public les aventures qu'il a courues avec son grand ballon, et aussi, je présume, pour faire partager au public anglais ses convictions relativement à un nouveau mécanisme qui doit être substitué au ballon.*"

He also gave him a letter to Swinburne in which he took the opportunity



THE IMPRESSIONIST MOVEMENT

The Salon painters and their supporters in the Press encouraged the public to ridicule this First Impressionist Exhibition, which contained Monet's *Impression: Soleil levant* that gave the group its name.¹

In 1876 the Second Impressionist Exhibition was held in the galleries of the dealer Durand-Ruel, who had decided to support the rebels in 1872, when he bought twenty-two pictures by Manet in one day.²

At this exhibition the number of the exhibitors was reduced to sixteen, as the less adventurous members had fallen away. Gustave Caillebotte (1848-1894) appeared as a new member. Renoir, Monet and Berthe Morisot contributed.³

This exhibition was even more virulently attacked than the first.⁴

to thank Swinburne for his "merveilleux article" on the *Fleurs du Mal* in the *Spectator* a few months earlier. In this letter Baudelaire stated his art-creed: "Tout objet d'art bien fait suggère naturellement et forcément une morale."

Nadar's book on Baudelaire throws valuable side-lights on his character. Baudelaireans will remember the revealing story of the child and the cake.

¹ I do not know the present whereabouts of Monet's *Impression: Soleil levant*. In 1906 it was in the collection of M. Donop de Monchy. Judging by a reproduction it would appear to have been influenced by Monet's introduction to Turner's pictures when he came to England during the Franco-Prussian War (cf. p. 259).

Charivari held this picture up to ridicule and referred to the whole group as "Impressionistes."

To this exhibition Renoir sent *La Petite Danseuse*, now in the Widener Collection, Philadelphia, and *La loge*, now in the Courtauld Collection in London; Degas *Voitures aux courses* now in the Boston Museum, *Répétition d'un Ballet sur la Scène*, *Le Foyer de la danse* and *Le pédicure*, all now in the Louvre; and Cézanne *La Maison du Pendu*, now in the Louvre.

² Cf. p. 251.

³ I have not been able to discover the identity of the pictures exhibited, eighteen of which were by Renoir. Cézanne was not represented. For Caillebotte cf. note pp. 243, 244 and p. 242.

⁴ Albert Wolff, art critic of the *Figaro*, wrote: "On vient d'ouvrir chez Durand-Ruel une exposition qu'on dit être de peinture. Le passant inoffensif entre et à ses yeux épouvantés s'offre un spectacle cruel. Cinq ou six aliénés, dont une femme, s'y sont donné rendez-vous pour exposer leurs œuvres."

"Il y a des gens qui pouffent de rire devant ces choses-là, moi j'en ai le cœur serré. Ces soi-disant artistes s'intitulent les Intransigeants, les Impressionnistes. Ils prennent des toiles, de la couleur et des brosses, jettent au hasard quelques tons et signent le tout. C'est ainsi qu'à la Ville-Evrard des esprits égarés ramassent les cailloux sur leur chemin et croient avoir trouvé des diamants."

THE IMPRESSIONIST MOVEMENT

In 1877 the Société numbered eighteen members, who now called themselves officially *Peintres Impressionistes*, and the Third Impressionist Exhibition was held in an empty house in the rue le Peletier.¹

At this exhibition Cézanne's pictures excited the chief odium; the Salon painters and their associates spoke of him as a Socialist and a species of monster, though he never at any time in his life took an interest in politics. Discouraged by this stupidity and malice, he retired to the country, as he had independent means, and his work was not seen again in Paris for twenty years. Renoir and Monet shared the abuse that was poured upon him.²

But the artists were now supported by a small number of patrons and admirers. In the first category there was Chocquet, a civil servant who overspent his income to secure pictures by Renoir, in which he delighted, and who was one of the first people to understand Cézanne; Georges Charpentier the publisher; Caillebotte, a rich naval architect, who owned a fine house on the river and numerous sailing boats, who bought pictures by all the Impressionists and Cézanne, and was himself a gentleman-artist and member of the group; and the Count Camondo, who also began to collect about this time.³

The artists were also supported by the critic-collector Théodore Duret, and Émile Zola, who had both already defended Manet, and by the critics Duranty and Henri Rivière,

¹ To this exhibition Pissarro sent pictures of kitchen gardens, and Renoir *Le Moulin de la Galette* (either the picture now in the Louvre or the version now in a private American collection which I reproduce, Pl. 104b); Cézanne sent sixteen works, landscapes, compositions of bathers, still-life studies and the *Portrait of Chocquet* now in the Pellerin Collection, Paris; Degas sent twenty-five works including *Un Café: Boulevard Montmartre* (Pl. 113b) and *La danseuse au bouquet* (Pl. 115a), both now in the Louvre; and Monet sent *Les Dindons blancs*, a picture (painted in 1873) of which I do not know the present whereabouts.

² *La Chronique des Arts et des Curiosités* wrote: "MM. Claude Monet et Cézanne, heureux de se produire, ont exposé le premier 30 toiles, le second 14. Il faut les avoir vues pour s'imaginer ce qu'elles sont. Elles provoquent le rire et sont cependant lamentables. Elles dénotent la plus profonde ignorance du dessin, de la composition, du coloris. Quand les enfants s'amuse avec du papier et des couleurs, ils font mieux."

³ The majority of the pictures in the Caillebotte and Camondo Collections are now in the Louvre (cf. note, pp. 243, 244).



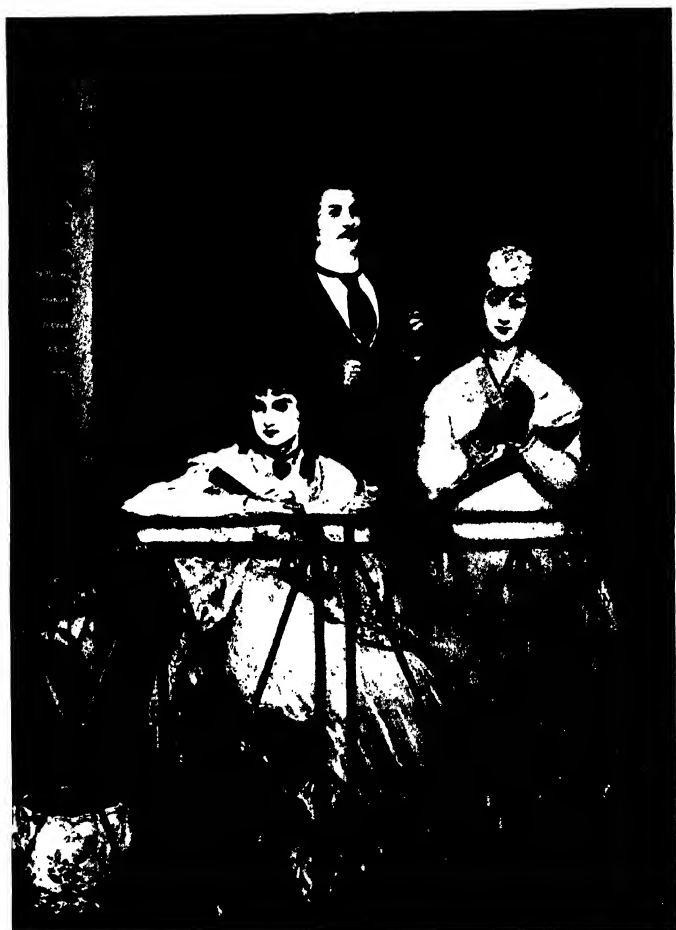
MARC ANTONIO. Engraving after Raphael: The Judgement of Paris (detail).



Paris. Louvre

ÉDOUARD MANET. Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe

PLATE 95



Paris, Louvre

EDOUARD MANET, *Le Balcon*.

THE IMPRESSIONIST MOVEMENT

who published, during the third exhibition, an illustrated weekly paper called *L'Impressioniste*, which lauded and explained the pictures. The main support came, however, as noted, from Durand-Ruel, an art dealer who really knew his business. Two other names must be mentioned—Muret, a restaurant keeper, who gave meals to the poor members of the group, including Monet and Renoir, in return for pictures; and Tanguy, an artist colourman who supplied them with colours on the same terms.¹

The fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh Impressionist Exhibitions were held in 1879, 1880, 1881 and 1882. In 1883 there was no group exhibition, but Durand-Ruel arranged a series of one-man shows by Monet, Renoir, Pissarro and Sisley in an empty house on the Boulevard de la Madeleine. The eighth and last Impressionist Exhibition was held in 1886.²

By this time the Impressionist battle was really won. An exhibition of pictures by Monet, organised in New York by Durand-Ruel in 1886, was a considerable success, and all the leading artists of the group were now recognized—except Cézanne, who was working out in his retirement a new orientation for modern art.³

But the Salon painters still encouraged the general public in hostility to these artists; they used all their influence to prevent any expenditure from *la caisse des musées* on their work. No Impressionist pictures were ever *acquis par l'État*, and when they were bequeathed or presented, they were not accepted without protest, and some were actually refused.⁴

¹ For Tanguy cf. p. 302 and note, p. 312.

² The Impressionists in the years of adversity held two or three auction sales of their pictures at the Hotel Drouot. The pictures were knocked down for very small sums amid the jeers of the spectators; the popular painters' supporters in the Press added derisive comments.

³ In 1886 Manet had been dead three years, Monet was forty-six, Pissarro was fifty-six, Degas was fifty-two, Renoir was forty-five, and Cézanne was forty-seven; Toulouse-Lautrec, who was twenty-two, had just arrived in Paris. By this time the *Société des Artistes Indépendants* had been formed and Seurat who was twenty-seven had already painted and shown there *La Baignade* (now in the London National Gallery, Millbank,) and *La Grande Jatte* (Pl. 133) now in the Chicago Art Institute (cf. note p. 280 and pp. 269, 307).

⁴ None of the pictures by the Impressionists, Post-Impressionists, and by Cézanne and Seurat now in the Louvre and Luxembourg museums have

EDOUARD MANET

The Impressionists' pictures, painted sixty and seventy years ago, have been imitated by derivative popular painters all over the world ; these imitations abound in all official exhibitions to this day. At the present moment Impressionism has taken the place of History-painting in the Grand Manner as the popular painters' creed ; and for the last thirty years it has been used by them as a weapon with which to attack the various forms of original painting that have since appeared.

ij. *Edouard Manet*

BORN PARIS 1832. DIED PARIS 1883.

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES¹

London.	National Gallery	The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian. (Two fragments), 1867-1870
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Concert aux Tuileries, 1860-1863
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Mlle Eva Gonzales, 1869-1870
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	La Servante de Bocks, 1877
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Mme Manet with a cat, 1877-1880
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe (1862-1864), (first version)
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Argenteuil, 1874
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Les Paveurs de la rue de Berne, 1878
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Le Bar des Folies Bergères, 1880-1882
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Boy with a sword, 1861
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Woman with a parrot, c. 1862

been purchases. Manet's *Olympia*, offered by subscription in 1890, was at first refused and only accepted after protracted negotiations. When the whole of the Caillebotte Collection came to the nation by bequest, in 1895, the Administration des Beaux Arts refused two pictures by Cézanne, one by Manet, three by Sisley, eight by Monet and eleven by Pissarro and accepted the remainder under protest.

¹ For a catalogue the reader is referred to Théodore Duret's *Edouard Manet et son œuvre*. Some changes in ownership have occurred since Duret's catalogue was compiled. My list gives present whereabouts in a number of such cases.

EDOUARD MANET

New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Funeral, c. 1870
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Jeanne—le Printemps, 1880
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	Victorine en costume d'Espada, 1862
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	Dead Christ with Angels, 1863— 1864 ¹
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	Young Man as a Majo, 1863
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	Matador Saluting, 1866
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	En bateau, 1874
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	Le Chemin de Fer, 1874
New York.	G. Vanderbilt Collection	L'Acteur tragique, 1866
New York.	G. Vanderbilt Collection	Le Repos (Berthe Morisot), 1870—1872
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Boy blowing Soap Bubbles, 1868
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	The Beggar, c. 1863
New York.	Osborn Collection	Le Guitarrero, 1860
New York.	Chester Dale Collection	Mme Michel-Levy
New York.	Chester Dale Collection	Le Vieux Musicien, 1862—1865
Chicago.	Art Institute	Jesus Insulted by the Soldiers, 1864—1865
Chicago.	Art Institute, Mrs. Potter Palmer Collection	A Philosopher, 1863—1865
Boston.	Wittemore Collection	Les Courses à Longchamp, 1871—1872
Boston.	Wittemore Collection	Racing in the Bois. Les Courses au bois de Boulogne, 1871—1872
Boston.	Mrs. Montgomery-Sears Collection	The Port of Calais, 1871—1872
Philadelphia.	Wilstach Collection	La Chanteuse des rues, 1862
Philadelphia.	J. G. Johnson Collection	Marine View in Holland, 1871— 1872
Washington.	Phillips Memorial Gallery	The fight between the <i>Alabama</i> and the <i>Kearsage</i> , 1864—1865
Paris.	Louvre	Ballet Espagnol, 1862
Paris.	Louvre	Lola de Valence, 1861—1862
Paris.	Louvre	Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe, 1863
Paris.	Louvre	Still life. Peonies, 1864
Paris.	Louvre	Still life. Fruit, 1864
Paris.	Louvre	Le Fifre, 1866
Paris.	Louvre	Le Port de Boulogne, 1868— 1869

¹ This picture is now on exhibition in the Louvre.

MANET'S LIFE

Paris.	Louvre	Mme Manet at the piano (pastel), 1867-1868
Paris.	Louvre	Olympia, 1865
Paris.	Louvre	Le Balcon, 1868-1870
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait of Emile Zola, 1868
Paris.	Louvre	La dame aux éventails, 1873
Paris.	Louvre	La Blonde aux seins nus, 1875
Paris.	Louvre	Stephan Mallariné, 1876
Paris.	Louvre	Clémenceau, c. 1880
Paris.	M. Gallimard Collection	Le Linge, 1875-1876
Paris.	Formerly Pellerin Collec- tion	Le Déjeuner, 1868-1892
Paris ?	Formerly Pellerin Collec- tion	Nana, 1876
Tournai.	Museum	En Bateau. Argenteuil, 1873- 1874
Tournai.	Museum	Chez le Père Lathuille, 1878- 1879
Berlin.	Museum	Dans la Serre, 1878-1879
Berlin.	Max Liebermann Collec- tion	Asparagus
Berlin.	Max Liebermann Collec- tion	Portrait of George Moore, 1878-1879
Berlin.	E. Arnhold Collection	Jeune femme couchée en cos- tume espagnol, 1864 ?
Berlin.	E. Arnhold Collection	Le Bon Bock, 1872-1873
Frankfort.	Staedelsches Institut	The Croquet Party, 1873-1874
Copenhagen.	Carlsberg Museum	Le Buveur d'Absinthe, 1858- 1859

(a) *Manet's Life*

Edouard Manet, the real originator of the Impressionist movement, abstained from the first Impressionist exhibition in 1874, because he really belonged to an older generation—the generation of his friend and champion, Baudelaire.¹

Manet, like Baudelaire, came from the upper middle-class. His father, himself the son of a well-to-do bourgeois, was a magistrate; his mother also came of a moneyed bourgeois family. His parents objected to his desire to be an artist; and this was comprehensible seeing that the gentleman-artist

¹ Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal* appeared in 1857. He retired to Brussels in 1864 and died there in 1867.



London. National Gallery Millbank

EDOUARD MANET. Eve Gonzales.



PLATE 199

EDOUARD MANET, *Le Linceu*.

MANET'S LIFE

was still a relatively rare phenomenon in French social life.¹

In 1850, at the age of eighteen, Manet declared that he would rather go to sea than study law as his parents wished; and to sea he went, with funds supplied by his father, on a merchant vessel bound for Rio de Janeiro, where he probably acquired the germs of the paralysis from which he died.

On his return he again insisted on his vocation, and joined the art school of Thomas Couture, a Salon demonstration painter, whose *Romains de la Décadence*, now in the Louvre, was a Salon success in 1849. Manet worked there intermittently for five years, and in this period he spent much time in the Louvre, and copied, among other things, the *Cavaliers* then ascribed to Velasquez.²

In the evenings he took pianoforte lessons from a Mlle Suzanne Leenhoff, who became his mistress, the mother of his son, and eventually his wife.³

This liaison was kept secret from his father, who now provided funds for travel in Italy, Germany and Holland. About 1857 he shared a studio with another gentleman-artist, the

¹ Géricault and Delacroix were the first; Corot, who as noted was financed by his parents all his life, belonged to the lower middle-classes (cf. p. 216); in the middle of the nineteenth-century artists whose financial position absolved them from the necessity of making money began to be more numerous in France. Courbet, Degas, Cézanne, Seurat, and Toulouse-Lautrec were, like Manet, in this position (cf. Preface, § v).

² This picture is now catalogued as School of Velasquez. In 1850-1856 the only real Velasquez in the Louvre was the half-length of *L'Infante Marie Marguerite*. The full-length of *Philip IV* (a replica) arrived in 1862; the *Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche* was presented by La Caze in 1869.

Between 1851 and 1858 Manet also copied in the Louvre Tintoretto's *Self Portrait*, Titian's *Vierge au lapin*, and, in the Luxembourg, *La Barque du Dante*, by Delacroix, whose studio he had visited. Ribera's *Le Pied bot*, which we might assume to have been a source of inspiration for his early work, was a La Caze gift in 1869. (For the question of his acquaintance with works by Goya cf. note, p. 254.)

³ Manet's picture, *Mme Manet au piano*, now in the Louvre, was painted about 1867. Whistler's *Piano Picture*, now in the collection of Sir Edmund Davis, London, was painted in 1859. Fantin Latour's *Autour du piano* now in the Luxembourg was painted in 1857; Renoir's *Jeunes filles au piano* (of which several versions exist) dates from 1891; his *Enfants de Catulle Mendès*, where three children are grouped round a piano, dates from 1888.

MANET'S LIFE

Comte de Balleroy, and at the beginning of 1859, when he was twenty-seven, he painted *Le Buveur d'Absinthe* (Pl. 118c), now in Copenhagen.

Manet invited his master, Couture, to inspect this picture in his studio. "*Mon ami*," said Couture, "*il n'y a qu'un buveur d'absinthe ici—c'est celui qui a produit cette insanité.*" The picture was sent to the Salon and rejected.

In 1860 he took a studio of his own and painted *La Musique aux Tuileries*, now in the London National Gallery, Millbank, a series of figures from a model called Victorine, and another series of figures in Spanish costumes, some painted from members of a troupe of Spanish dancers, then in Paris, and others from Victorine and members of his family dressed up.¹

The outstanding pictures of this double series are *Lola de Valence*, now in the Louvre, *Victorine en costume d'Espada* (Pl. 95), *The Woman with a parrot* and the *Young Man as a Majo*, all now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, the *Ballet Espagnol*, now in the Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, and *Le Vieux Musicien*, now in the Chester Dale Collection, New York. At this period he also painted the octoroon, *Jeanne Duval*, who played so strange a part in the life of Baudelaire.²

After his father's death in 1862 Manet became a man of comfortable though not large independent means. He married the next year.

At the beginning of 1863 he held a one-man show of his pictures in the gallery of a dealer named Martinet. The pictures were violently abused by the critics; *La Musique aux Tuileries* and *Lola de Valence*, which both seem to us restrained

¹ Manet, like Watteau, had a number of costumes—especially Spanish costumes—as studio properties and nearly all his Spanish pictures were painted before he went to Spain. In the same way the sitter for *Le Buveur d'Absinthe* was not really an absinthe-drunkard but an out-of-work rag-and-bone merchant whom Manet had picked up in the Louvre where the poor wretch had gone for shelter on a cold day (cf. p. 284).

² This picture, which was never finished, is now, I believe, in Germany. It represents the sitter in a white crinoline muslin dress lying on a sofa with a white lace curtain as a background. It was presumably the source of Whistler's *Symphonies in White*, the first of which was rejected by the Salon in 1863.



London: National Gallery, Millbank

EDOUARD MANET, *La Servante de Boeck*



London: S. Courtauld Collection

EDOUARD MANET, *Le Bar des Folies Bergères*,



New York: The Metropolitan Collection

CLAUDE MONET, The Seine.



Aberdeen: Art Gallery

CLAUDE MONET, La Falaise de Fécamp.

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and almost sombre in colour, were described as offending by *un bariolage rouge, bleu, jaune et noir*.¹

The *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (Pl. 97b), now in the Louvre, was painted in 1862-3, rejected by the Salon in 1863, and shown in the *Salon des Refusés* of that year. The Emperor and Empress led the way in the general condemnation of the picture which was described as an offence against decency; no one, it would seem, perceived that it was painted in emulation of Giorgione's *Concert Champêtre* (Pl. 46b) in the Louvre.²

The *Dead Christ with Angels* (Havemeyer Collection) was shown in the Salon of 1864; the *Jesus insulted by the soldiers* (Pl. 96), now in the Chicago Art Institute, was in the Salon of 1865 together with the celebrated *Olympia*. The scandal of the *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* was repeated by the exhibition of these pictures, and the critics who supported the popular painters were violently hostile.³

Manet was much distressed by this hostile reception of his work; he particularly resented the suggestion disseminated by the popular painters that he was merely a vulgar self-advertiser seeking notoriety by the exhibition of an offensive nude. To escape from this persecution he went to Madrid, where he met Théodore Duret, who became one of his most faithful champions and friends.⁴

¹ The *Lola de Valence* was then even less aggressive in colour than it is to-day, because it had a plain grey background which was afterwards changed to the *coulisse de théâtre* background which now appears in it. Of this picture and *La Musique aux Tuileries*, Paul de Saint-Victor wrote in *La Presse*: "Imaginez Goya passé au Mexique, devenu sauvage au milieu des pampas, et barbouillant des toiles avec de la cochenille écrasée, vous aurez M. Manet, le réaliste de la dernière heure. Ses tableaux . . . sont des charivaris de palette. Jamais on n'a fait plus effroyablement grimacer les lignes et hurler les tons. . . . Son 'Concert aux Tuileries' écorche les yeux, comme la musique des foires fait saigner l'oreille."

² Manet took the composition of the central part of this picture from Marc Antonio's engraving, *The Judgement of Paris*, after a drawing by Raphael, *The Judgement of Paris* (Pl. 97a).

³ Saint-Victor wrote: "La foule se presse, comme à la Morgue, devant 'l'Olympia' faisandée (i.e. high, as of game) et l'horrible 'Ecce homo' de M. Manet. L'art descendu si bas ne mérite même pas qu'on le blâme." . . . "Ne parlions pas d'eux; regarde et passe."

⁴ Duret in his *Manet et son œuvre* relates an episode which makes it clear that Manet at this moment was suffering from an attack of persecution mania.

MANET'S LIFE

In 1866, after his return from Spain, the Salon rejected *Le Fifre*, now in the Louvre, and *L'Acteur tragique*, now in the Vanderbilt Collection, New York.¹

In 1867 he was not invited to exhibit at the *Exposition Universelle* and, like Courbet, he put up a shed and arranged fifty of his works as a private exhibition; hardly anyone went in, and none of the pictures was sold.

On the other hand, he had now won for himself a number of admirers, the critics Théodore Duret, Duranty and Théophile Thoré, and Emile Zola, who had written an enthusiastic article about his work, and lost his post as art critic to *L'Événement* as a result.²

These men and the artists who were about to form the Impressionist group used to frequent the Café Guerbois to meet one another, and especially to meet Manet, whom they all regarded as their leader.

Le Balcon (Pl. 98), now in the Louvre, was in the Salon of 1869, and was greeted literally with roars of laughter; *Eva Gonzales* (Pl. 99), now in the London National Gallery, Millbank—a portrait for which Manet had forty sittings—had the same fate in the Salon of 1870.

This continued laughter at his pictures had a bad effect on Manet's nerves. As after the *Olympia* scandal, he was for the moment paranoiac, and in 1866 he quarrelled with Duranty, with whom he fought a duel.³

But he also tells us that the passport officer at Hendaye called his wife to look at this painter of scandalous pictures of whom they had read in the newspapers—which shows that the persecution was as real and widespread then as it is in the case of certain original artists to-day.

¹ About this time Manet sent two pictures—probably these two—to the Royal Academy in London which rejected them.

² Zola wrote: "*La place de M. Manet est marquée au Louvre. . . . Il est impossible—impossible, entendez-vous—que M. Manet n'ait pas un jour de triomphe et qu'il n'écrase pas les médiocrités timides qui l'entourent.*" This was considered so fantastic in 1866 that the editor thought his contributor was insulting his readers by "pulling their legs." Duret, who arranged to write articles without payment on the 1870 Salon in *L'Electeur Libre*, had to give an undertaking that if he praised Manet the praise must be *attenué et enveloppé de circonlocutions*.

³ Both survived and were afterwards reconciled. Some time later Manet quarrelled, over a trifle, with the Belgian painter Stevens, who had been for many years his friend.

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There was no Salon in 1871, and during the war Manet served in the *garde nationale*, where his colonel was the Salon painter, Meissonnier, who took no steps to make his acquaintance.¹

He resumed work in 1872, and sent to the Salon *Le Repos* (a portrait of Berthe Morisot), which had the usual bad reception. But this picture, which is now in the Vanderbilt Collection, New York, was accompanied by *Le Bon Bock* (now in a German collection), which represents a fat man, smoking a pipe, with a glass of beer in his hand. Pictures of fat men, especially of fat men eating or drinking, always appeal to Salon publics. This one was no exception to the rule, and Manet for the first time heard the Salon visitors make enthusiastic comments on his work.

Manet now found himself short of money; in the thirteen years in which he had been practising as an artist he had only sold two or three pictures; he had overspent his income, especially at the time of his one-man show in the *Exposition Universelle*, when he had gambled on the hope of selling some works; and his actual capital was now considerably reduced. This position was relieved when the dealer Durand-Ruel came to his studio and bought twenty-two pictures for thirty-five thousand francs.²

¹ Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonnier (1815-1891), a genre painter, chiefly of *cortegaardjes* in the Dutch tradition, was a pillar of the Salons and the first French artist to receive the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. His work was much admired by Madame Sabatier to whom Baudelaire wrote the poem beginning:

*Ange plein de gaieté, connaissez-vous l'angoisse
La honte, les remords, les sanglots, les ennuis
Et les vagues terreurs de ces affreuses nuits
Qui compriment le cœur comme un papier qu'on froisse ?
Ange plein de gaieté, connaissez-vous l'angoisse ?*

Meissonnier was a very short man who wore a very long beard. Mr. Walter Pach, the distinguished American art-critic, has described him as "a rancorous dwarf." In 1872 when Courbet was victimised on political grounds by the Thiers Government (cf. p. 229), Meissonnier helped to make it impossible for him to pay the indemnity by urging the Salon Jury to exclude his work from all exhibitions. "He must be considered by us," said Meissonnier, "as one dead."

² The pictures bought included four port scenes and *Victorine as an Espada* (Pl. 95), *Le Fifre*, *L'Acteur tragique*, *The Woman with a parrot*, *La*

MANET'S LIFE

This was Manet's position at the time of the First Impressionist Exhibition. He had only ten more years to live, and he was to hear again the Salon public's derisive laughter and to have his pictures again refused.

In addition to his important figure subjects he had been painting since the middle of the 'sixties Impressionist seascapes, port scenes, scenes on the beach, at the races and so forth, and he now began to use this Impressionist technique in Salon pictures of outdoor scenes.¹

Le Chemin de fer (Havemeyer Collection), shown in the Salon of 1874, and *Argenteuil* (now at Tournai), shown in 1875, were both outdoor (*plein air*) effects painted in the light colours favoured by the Impressionist group. The Salon painters and the Salon public were even more infuriated by these pictures than they had been by his earlier style. *Le Linge* (Pl. 100), with its lovely light blues, so enraged the Jury of 1876 that they refused it; and Manet had other pictures refused in 1877 and 1878, years in which he painted the charming *Paveurs de la rue de Berne*, now in Mr. Courtauld's collection in London, and *La servante de Bocks*,

Chanteuse des rues, *Young Man as a Major*, *Dead Christ with Angels*, *Le ballet espagnol*, and *Le Repos*. Durand-Ruel did not buy *Olympia*, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (Pl. 97b), *Le Balcon* (Pl. 98), *Lola de Valence*, or *Jesus Insulted by Soldiers* (Pl. 96), which remained with at least a hundred other pictures in the studio.

¹ It must be clearly realised that Manet was the first to paint Impressionist scenes of daily life and that he was imitated by Monet and Degas in their early works. Manet painted his first race-course pictures about 1864. In 1867 he painted a *Vue de l'exposition universelle* (in the collection of Mme Angelot, Paris), in which he depicted people on horseback, a man watering a lawn, a boy with a dog, soldiers and so forth, and a balloon in the air—a typical Impressionist sketch of the kind which is now considered rather dashing by Salon painters three quarters of a century later; he painted *La Plage de Boulogne* (Fauré Collection, Paris) in 1869, *Le Port de Bordeaux* (Mendelssohn Collection, Berlin) in 1871—a picture itself anticipated by Whistler's *Thames in Ice* which was painted in 1862; *Les Courses à Longchamp* (Pl. 111a), now in the Chicago Art Institute (Mrs. Potter Palmer Collection), was painted in 1872, and in that year he painted the *Young Man on a Bicycle* that was in the Moreau-Nelaton Collection. His *Croquet Party*, now in the Städelchesche Institute at Frankfurt, was painted in 1874. The first imitations of these pictures by foreign artists date from the 'eighties. Sir John Lavery's *Tennis Party*, formerly in the Munich Neue Pinakotek, was painted in 1885, two years after Manet's death.

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now in the London National Gallery, Millbank; *Chez le père Lathuille* was derided in 1880.

But in 1881 the Salon Jury was once more reconstituted on the old plan of election by the votes of all the exhibitors of the past year, and the Jury thus elected gave Manet a medal for the strange picture, *Le Chasseur de lions*, which he exhibited in 1881; and this medal was followed in the usual way by the Legion of Honour.¹

Thus Manet had to wait till two years before his death to secure the *hors concours* position which gave him the right to exhibit his pictures without interference from the Jury.

But by this time he was attacked by the paralysis to which he succumbed in 1883. He painted, nevertheless, before his death, some Impressionist landscapes (that were imitated by Sargent), *Jeanne—le Printemps*, which was a success in the Salon of 1882 and is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and the celebrated *Bar aux Folies Bergères* (Pl. 101b), now in the Courtauld Collection. He painted the later pictures seated in a wheeled chair.

(b) *Manet's Art*

Manet was essentially a painter's painter. Like Chardin and Corot, he "amused himself" by painting. But whereas Chardin had "amused himself" with architectural exploration and Corot with an attempt to express a lyrical concept of landscape in photographic technique, Manet "amused himself" by concentrating on the actual handling of oil paint. He was the first artist to regard the practice of a particular *method* of oil painting as a vocation in itself. He was the inventor of the notion of "painting for painting's sake"—a notion elaborated by Walter Pater into the "æsthetic" doctrine which is still upheld in our own day by art critics of one school.

Manet's early pictures were all exercises in his chosen method of "direct" oil painting. He was attracted by effects noted in

¹ *Le Chasseur de lions* which is now, I believe, in Germany, shows the huntsman kneeling with a dead lion behind him. The model was posed among the trees in the Champs Elysées.

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over-exposed photographs and tried to capture them in a method of oil painting which he invented.¹

In the subject-content of his pictures Manet took relatively little interest. He accepted the general doctrine of Realism, of which he heard a good deal from his friend Zola, and he painted subjects of everyday life. But he was not an original Romantic recorder of everyday life like Courbet or Daumier, Degas or Lautrec. Nor was he an original descriptive recorder. He was purely a painter who happened to select this material to paint.

Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe (Pl. 97b) is in character simply an attempt to paint Giorgione's *Concert Champêtre* (Pl. 46b) in his own technique, and it was for this reason that he was content to take the composition from the Marc Antonio engraving (Pl. 97a). For the *Concert aux Tuileries* he borrowed, as noted, a composition by Guys; *The Execution of Maximilian*, *Victorine as an Ispada* (Pl. 65), *Le Balcon* (Pl. 98), *Olympia*, and his pictures of Spanish bull-fighting, were all probably based on Goya's aquatints and on photographs of his pictures.²

¹ Manet mixed up on his palette a large lump of the general tone which he desired to be the final tone for each passage; into this on his canvas he worked the minimum of shadows. He found the parlour game of acquiring dexterity in this procedure an enthralling "amusement."

² I have not been able to discover what experience of Goya's work Manet actually had. There were no paintings by Goya in the Louvre in 1864 and the two portraits bequeathed by Guillemardet in 1865 were probably not exhibited there till 1866. Goya's *La Femme à l'éventail*, now in the Louvre, which would seem to have influenced the *Eve Gonzales* (Pl. 99), was not acquired by the Louvre till 1898.

The critic Thoré described Manet's early paintings as influenced by Goya; but Baudelaire in the famous letter of 1864, in which he said that he himself had written phrases that occurred in Poe's works before reading Poe, stated categorically: "*M. Manet n'a jamais vu de Goya. . . . M. Manet n'a jamais vu la galerie Pourtalès. Cela vous paraît incroyable mais cela est vrai. . . . M. Manet, à l'époque où nous jouissions de ce merveilleux Musée Espagnol que la stupide République française, dans sa respect abusif de la propriété, a rendu aux princes d'Orléans, M. Manet était un enfant et servait à bord d'un navire. On lui a tant parlé de ses pastiches de Goya que, maintenant, il cherche à voir des Goya.*"

Manet did not go to Spain, as noted, till the autumn of 1865 after the exhibition of his *Olympia*. It is, however, probable that he was acquainted either with Goya's *Maja vestida* and *Maja desnuda* (now in the Prado, Madrid) or with photographs of these pictures. Baudelaire makes obscure references to the pictures and to photographs of them in two letters dated May 14th and 16th, 1859, to the photographer Nadar (cf. p. 240), whom he urges to

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In his Impressionist sketches of outdoor scenes, such as *Les Courses à Longchamp* (Pl. 111a), in which, as noted, he was the pioneer, Manet set the fashion for pictures that rival the effects of instantaneous photographs; and when he painted such scenes in light colours he was influenced by the general Impressionist interest in the spectrum palette, which was an attempt to reduce perception to the vision which the camera would achieve if it could chronicle colour.¹

His pictures of the late 'seventies such as *Argenteuil* (now in the Tournai Museum), and *La Servante de Boeckes* (Pl. 101a), now in the London National Gallery, are photographic both in vision and composition. A good deal of the *Bar aux Folies Bergères* (Pl. 101b), now in the Courtauld Collection, London, was probably painted from a photograph.²

No one who has handled oil paints can fail to react to Manet's masterly technique in this medium; and it is impossible to believe that the Salon painters did not deliberately shut their eyes to it from base motives when they encouraged ridicule of his *Eve Gonzales* in 1870, and rejected *Le Linge* in 1876.³

obtain or make photographs of the pictures (or versions of them) which it would seem were then in Paris and for sale for 2400 francs. My own view is that Nadar did obtain photographs of these pictures and gave them to his friend Manet. About 1864 Manet painted a sketch, *Jeune femme couchée en costume espagnole* (Arnhold Collection, Berlin), which is based on the *Maja vestida*; he gave this sketch to Nadar, possibly in exchange for the photographs. It was presumably Nadar who made the photograph of the *Olympia* which is pinned up on the wall in Manet's *Portrait of Zola* now in the Louvre. The composition of Manet's *Le Balcon* (Pl. 98) is certainly based on Goya's *Majas of the Balcony*. But I do not know where he could have seen the original painting. Three versions of it now exist in private collections in Spain. There is no version in the Prado.

¹ Cf. *The Modern Movement in Art*, pp. 76-81 and 97-103.

² For the relation of photographs to the work of Degas cf. p. 276.

³ Every painting by Manet has now been imitated ten thousand times. *Le Buteur d'Absinthe* (Pl. 118c), his first picture painted just after he had copied the Velasquez *Cavaliers*, was painted with thin flowing colour in a technique which he never repeated. This technique was imitated in all his full-length portraits by Whistler who was in Paris on and off from 1856 to 1863, and frequenting the Manet-Baudelaire circle. (Baudelaire wrote about Whistler's etchings in 1862. Fantin-Latour painted him in his *Hommage à Delacroix*, now in the Louvre, in 1863.) Whistler's various *Symphonies in White*, as noted (cf. note, p. 248), were all, I believe, the result of Manet's portrait of *Jeanne Duval*.

CLAUDE MONET

iiij. *Claude Monet*

BORN PARIS 1840. DIED GIVENCHY 1926.

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery, Mill-bank	Plage de Trouville, 1870
London.	National Gallery, Mill-bank	Vétheuil—effet de Neige, 1881
London.	National Gallery, Mill-bank	Les peupliers, c. 1890
London.	National Gallery, Mill-bank	Le bassin aux nymphéas, 1899-1908
London.	National Gallery, Mill-bank	Rouen Cathedral, c. 1894
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Juan-les-Pins, 1888
Aberdeen.	Art Gallery	La falaise de Fécamp, 1881
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Green Wave, 1865
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	La Grenouillère, 1869
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Sunflowers, 1881
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Poplars, 1891
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Haystacks in Snow, 1891
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Ice Floe, 1891
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Water Lilies. Nymphéas, 1899
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	The Seine, c. 1873
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Valley, Giverny, 1883
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Venice. The Contarini Palace, 1908
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Waterloo Bridge, 1904
Chicago.	Ryerson Collection	Westminster, c. 1903
Chicago.	Ryerson Collection	La Gare St. Lazare, 1877
Chicago.	Art Institute	Argenteuil, 1868
Chicago.	Art Institute	Boats in Winter Quarters, Etretat, 1880-1886
Pittsburg.	Carnegie Institute	The Seine at Lavacourt
Pittsburg.	Carnegie Institute	Water Lilies. (Nymphéas)
Philadelphia.	Fairmount Park	Amsterdam, Westchurch Tower
Philadelphia.	J. G. Johnson Collection	Railroad Bridge
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	Madame Manet Embroidering, c. 1880



New York. Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale Collection

AUGUSTE RENOIR. *Petite fille à l'arrosoir.*



La Place Poulle, Collection

AUGUSTE-RENOIR, La Place Poulle.



Le Moulin de la Galette

AUGUSTE-RENOIR, Le Moulin de la Galette.

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Worcester (Mass.).	Art Museum	Waterloo Bridge, 1903
Worcester (Mass.).	Art Museum	Water Lilies (Nymphéas), 1909
Detroit.	Institute of Arts	Garden Scene
Minneapolis.	Art Institute	Morning on the Seine
Paris.	Louvre	La Charrette. Effet de neige, 1865-1867
Paris.	Louvre	L'Été : Femmes dans jardin, 1867
Paris.	Louvre	Zaandam, 1871
Paris.	Louvre	Carrières-Saint-Denis, 1872
Paris.	Louvre	Grosse mer à Etretat, c. 1873
Paris.	Louvre	Le Pont du chemin de fer à Argenteuil, c. 1873
Paris.	Louvre	Les Barques à l'ancre (Argenteuil), 1873
Paris.	Louvre	Les Tuileries, 1875
Paris.	Louvre	Les Barques Régates à Argenteuil, 1875
Paris.	Louvre	Le Bassin d'Argenteuil, 1875
Paris.	Louvre	Les Voiles à Argenteuil
Paris.	Louvre	Le Déjeuner, 1875
Paris.	Louvre	Un Coin d'appartement, 1876
Paris.	Louvre	La Gare St. Lazare, 1877
Paris.	Louvre	La Seine à Vétheuil, 1879
Paris.	Louvre	Le Givre, 1880
Paris.	Louvre	Les Coquelicots, c. 1880
Paris.	Louvre	Les Rochers de Belle-Isle, 1886
Paris.	Louvre	Femme à l'Ombrelle, 1886
Paris.	Louvre	La Cathédrale de Rouen : Temps gris, 1894
Paris.	Louvre	La Cathédrale de Rouen : Soleil matinal, 1894
Paris.	Louvre	La Cathédrale de Rouen : Plein soleil, 1896
Paris.	Louvre	Nymphéas : harmonie verte, 1899
Paris.	Louvre	Nymphéas : harmonie rose, 1900
Paris.	Louvre	Vétheuil. Soleil couchant, 1901
Paris.	Louvre	Londres, le Parlement, 1904
Paris.	Luxembourg	L'Eglise de Vétheuil, before 1879
Bremen.	Museum	Camille, La Dame à la robe verte, 1866
Frankfort.	Staedelsches Institut	Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe, 1868

MONET'S LIFE

(a) *Monet's Life*

Claude Monet was the son of a grocer of Le Havre. At the age of fifteen he started to draw caricatures and earn money by selling them from a shop window. Shortly afterwards he met Boudin, who taught him to handle palette and brushes. At sixteen he competed for a Municipal Art Scholarship to take him to Paris; he failed to get the scholarship, and in the following year he went to Paris on money saved from the sale of his caricatures. In Paris he worked in the studio of Troyon.¹

The next year he was due for military service. His parents offered to buy him out if he would give up painting. He refused, and served two years in Algeria.

In 1862 he was back at Le Havre painting on the coast with Boudin and Jongkind.² At the end of the year his parents yielded to his determination to become a painter, and provided funds for a course of instruction in Paris in the art school of Marc-Gabriel-Charles Gleyre.³

In Gleyre's studio Monet found Renoir, Sisley and Bazille; in 1863 they left together—Sisley (whose father was then providing him with money), in a spirit of camaraderie, Renoir and Monet to try to earn their living.

Monet's enthusiasms at this time were for Boudin, Jongkind and Courbet. But in 1863 he saw Manet's one-man show at Martinet's and *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* in the *Salon des Refusés*; and a new enthusiasm for Manet began to drive out the others.

In 1865, when he was twenty-five, he had two marines accepted by the Salon; and he then painted his own *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, a replica of which is now in the Staedelsches Institut in Frankfort. In 1866 he was taken to Manet's studio and saw the imposing array of unsold pictures which it then contained. He rushed back home and painted—it is said in four days—*Camille*, *La Dame à la robe verte*, which is now in the Bremen Museum. *Camille* was accepted by the 1866 Salon. In 1867 he

¹ Cf. p. 215.

² Johann-Barthold Jongkind (1819–1891), a Dutch landscape and marine painter of the school of Corot and Boudin.

³ Marc-Gabriel-Charles Gleyre (1806–1876), a Salon painter.



Philadelphia, Tiscor Collection

AUGUSTE RENOIR. Baigneuses.



Femme allaitant son enfant. Musée de la Ville de Paris.

AUGUSTE RENOIR. Femme allaitant son enfant.

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painted *L'Été: Femmes dans un jardin* (now in the Louvre), which was rejected by the Salon; his pictures were again rejected in 1869 and 1870.

Shortly before the war he married and established himself at Argenteuil on the Seine. He was driven out by the German occupation in 1870 and travelled to Holland, where he accidentally discovered Japanese prints, and to London, where he painted the river and discovered Turner. On his London journey he was accompanied by Pissarro. After the war he returned to Argenteuil, and worked there and in Paris, with occasional visits to the coast, for the next few years.

From 1874 to 1886 he was associated as noted with the Impressionist exhibitions, and failed with the others to sell more than an occasional picture. In 1880 he had a completely unsuccessful one-man exhibition in a gallery on the Boulevard des Italiens belonging to Georges Charpentier the publisher, who has already been mentioned as one of the few people who bought the Impressionists' work in the early days.¹

In 1883 Durand-Ruel arranged a one-man show of fifty-six of his pictures in an empty house on the Boulevard de la Madeleine. This exhibition was almost a success, and Monet, who had lived hitherto in real poverty, was able to acquire a country house at Giverny, where he lived for the remainder of his life.

The relative success of the 1883 exhibition was continued in shows organised by Durand-Ruel in 1886 in New York, and in 1887 in Boston, and in an exhibition which Monet held with the sculptor Rodin in the Galerie Georges Petit in 1889.

After 1891 Monet was a prosperous artist; and his pictures shown in one-man exhibitions in the 'nineties and the beginning of the present century were all applauded and bought by dealers and collectors.

In these later shows he exhibited paintings of *Haystacks* in sunlight at different hours of the day (1891), of *Rouen Cathedral* in different effects of light (1893), of *Poplars* on the Epte (1898), of *Vétheuil* seen across the river (1902), of the *Thames* near Westminster (1904), of *Venice* (1912) and of the water-lilies (*Nymphéas*) in his garden at Giverny (1891 and

¹ Cf. p. 242.

MONET'S ART

1909). From 1914 to 1918 he worked on a series of large decorative panels based on his *Nymphéas*.

In 1918, when he was seventy-eight, his eyesight failed. He died at eighty-six.¹

(b) *Monet's Art*

Monet did not develop his personal style till the beginning of the 'eighties when he was over forty. Till then his pictures were influenced successively by Boudin, Jongkind, Manet, Pissarro, Turner, Japanese prints, photographs and Renoir.²

In his personal manner he achieved a Marxian grinding of the face of representational painting to a point which heralded the Cubist-Classical return to sheer architectural form. He concentrated on the problem of symbolising the perpetual movement of light. In so doing he eventually reduced the representation of specific forms to a minimum, and the formal content of his pictures to an architectural content of colour.

The colour itself was mainly restricted to the colours of the spectrum, as he was influenced by the scientific doctrine that

¹ Before his marriage Monet painted mainly on the Normandy coast and occasionally in Paris. From 1874 to 1880 he painted mainly on the Seine, in Paris and on the coast. In 1880 he worked at Etretat, in 1882 on various parts of the Normandy coast. From 1883 onwards he worked at Giverny and also in 1884 at Bordighera, in 1885 and 1886 at Etretat, in 1886 at Belle Isle, in 1888 at Antibes, in 1889 at La Creuse, in 1892 at Rouen, in 1895 in Norway. He worked in Holland in 1870 and 1879, and in London in 1871 and between 1900 and 1908.

² His *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, painted in 1866, was influenced by Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (Pl. 97b), and by the forest landscapes of Courbet. Monet, who doubtless knew that Manet was emulating Giorgione's *Concert Champêtre* (Pl. 46b), tried himself to emulate Van Loo's *Déjeuner de chasse* (Pl. 54b), now in the Louvre.

Monet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* was painted in the forest of Fontainebleau. Van Loo's picture had been painted for Fontainebleau; it was not nationalised or sold by Louis David's assessors, as they considered it worthless. It remained rolled up in an attic till 1846, when it was taken to the Tuileries. It was restored and transferred to the Louvre some years later.

Monet's picture, which would seem to have been sequestered by his landlord for rent, was also rolled up and neglected for some time. In 1868 Monet made the replica which is now in Frankfurt. The recumbent figure, based on the figure in the same attitude in Manet's picture, was painted from Bazille (cf. p. 237).

AUGUSTE RENOIR

we only perceive colour in terms of light, as it is seen by the camera. In practice this meant the dismissal of blacks and browns from the palette ; and much of the gaiety and charm of the colour in his pictures, and in those of Renoir and Sisley who adopted the same procedure, is due to the exclusion of those colours.

He painted many of his early pictures and the *Haystack* series entirely in the open air ; but about 1892 he realised—as all artists before him had realised—that it is not advisable to do more than sketch in the open air, because the violence of the light soon affects the eye, and it becomes impossible to know what the picture will look like when brought indoors. His *Rouen Cathedral* pictures and the *Thames* series were painted from windows ; after 1892 he worked over all his pictures in the studio.

I reproduce a fine example of his early work, *The Seine* (Pl. 102a), now in the Lewisohn Collection, New York ; and, as an example of his more personal work, *La Falaise de Fécamp* (Pl. 102b), which was formerly in Sir James Murray's collection, in London, and is now in the Aberdeen Art Gallery.

iv. *Auguste Renoir*

BORN LIMOGES 1841.

DIED CAGNES 1919.

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery, Mill- bank	The Umbrellas (<i>Les Parapluies</i>), 1883
London.	National Gallery, Mill- bank	At the Theatre (<i>La Première Sortie</i>), c. 1880
London.	National Gallery, Mill- bank	Nu dans l'eau, c. 1888
London.	S. Courtauld Collec- tion	In the Box (<i>La Loge</i>), 1874
London.	S. Courtauld Collec- tion	La Place Pigalle, 1880
London.	S. Courtauld Collec- tion	Portrait of Vollard, c. 1910 ?
London.	S. Courtauld Collec- tion	The Shoelace, c. 1917
London.	H. Coleman Collection	La Promenade, c. 1886
London.	Paul Maze Collection	Figures in a Landscape, c. 1917

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London.	Mrs. Chester Beatty Collection	Mother and Child (Femme allaitant son enfant), 1886
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Mme Charpentier and her Children, 1878
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	By the Seashore, 1883
U.S.A.	Private Collection	Le Moulin de la Galette, c. 1880
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Mme Darras, 1871
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Les canotiers à Chatou, 1879
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Les Vendangeurs, 1879
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	In the Meadow, c. 1894
New York.	Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale Collection	Petite fille à l'arrosoir, 1876
Washington.	Phillips Memorial Gallery	Le Déjeuner des Canotiers, c. 1880
Boston.	J. T. Spaulding Collection	Girl with a large hat (pastel), 1896
Chicago.	Art Institute	Circus Children, 1875
Chicago.	Art Institute	Mme Clapisson, 1883
Chicago.	Art Institute	Canoeists' Breakfast, c. 1879
Chicago.	Art Institute (Ryerson Collection)	Les Chapeaux d'été, 1893
Chicago.	Mrs. L. Coburn Collection	Sur la Terrasse, 1880
Chicago.	Mrs. L. Coburn Collection	Young Women at a table, 1876
Chicago.	Mrs. L. Coburn Collection	The Garden, 1878
Chicago.	Mrs. L. Coburn Collection	Girl Sewing, 1879
Chicago.	Mrs. L. Coburn Collection	Portrait of Sisley, 1879
Cleveland.	Coe Collection	Le Pont Neuf, 1872
Cleveland.	R. M. Coe Collection	La promenade au bord de la mer, 1890
Northampton (Mass.).	Smith College	Mme Maître
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	Le Déjeuner, c. 1875
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	Half-nude Girl doing her hair, c. 1875
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	Mother and Child, 1881
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	Washerwoman and Child, c. 1886
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	La Famille Renoir, 1896



Chicago Art Institute

AUGUSTE RENOIR. Circus Children.



Oil on Canvas, 1890, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

AUGUSTE RENOIR, *Les Chapeaux d'été*.

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Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	Three Girls at an embroidery frame, c. 1897
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	La Promenade, 1898
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	Déjeuner sur l'herbe, c. 1909
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	Le petit déjeuner, c. 1910
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	Bathing Girls at play, c. 1915
Philadelphia.	Tyson Collection	Baigneuses, ¹ 1885
Philadelphia.	Widener Collection	Petite danseuse, 1874
Paris.	Louvre	Bazille, 1867-1868
Paris.	Louvre.	Mme Th. Charpentier, c. 1872.
Paris.	Louvre	La Rose, c. 1872
Paris.	Louvre	Paysage aux environs de Paris, 1873
Paris.	Louvre	Mme Hartmann, 1874
Paris.	Louvre	La Liseuse, c. 1874
Paris.	Louvre	Le Moulin de la Galette, c. 1875
Paris.	Louvre	La Balançoire, 1876
Paris.	Louvre	Chemin montant dans les hautes herbes, c. 1878
Paris.	Louvre	Les Bords de la Seine à Champrosay.
Paris.	Louvre	Jeunes filles au piano, ² 1891-1892
Paris.	Louvre	La fillette au chapeau de paille, 1908
Paris.	Louvre	Jeune fille assise, c. 1909
Paris.	Louvre	Gabrielle à la rose, c. 1910
Paris.	Louvre	La Toilette : femme se peignant, 1910
Paris.	Louvre	Mlle Colonna Romano, 1913
Paris.	Louvre	Les Nymphs (two recumbent nudes and two bathing girls), 1919
Paris.	Louvre	Théodore de Banville (pastel)
Paris.	Louvre	Torse de jeune fille au soleil
Paris.	Pierre Renoir Collec- tion	Mother and Child, c. 1901 ³
Paris.	Pierre Renoir Collec- tion	La femme enceinte, 1917
Paris.	Jean Renoir Collection	Panneaux décoratifs, 1901
Paris.	Vollard Collection	Baigneuses, c. 1901 ⁴
Paris.	Vollard Collection	The Judgement of Paris (bronze), 1915

¹ This picture was formerly in the collection of the artist M. J.-E. Blanche.

² There is another version of this picture in the Paul Guillaume Collection in Paris. Mr. Adolph Lewisohn has a version in pastel.

³ This is a free version of the *Mother and Child* (1886) in Mrs. Chester Beatty's Collection. Renoir also modelled this group in clay in 1916. I have seen a bronze cast at the Leicester Galleries, London.

⁴ This is a repetition in a free handling of the *Baigneuses*, 1885, in the Tyson Collection.

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Paris.	Durand-Ruel Collection	Femme se coiffant, 1885
Paris.	Wildenstein Collection	Children of Catulle Mendès, 1888
Paris.	Paul Guillaume Collection	La Lettre, c. 1892
Paris.	Paul Guillaume Collection	Gabrielle with the jewel, c. 1909
Paris.	Paul Guillaume Collection	Le Clown Blanc
Paris.	Paul Guillaume Collection	Gabrielle aux mains croisées
Paris.	Paul Guillaume Collection	La Blonde Costumée
Paris.	Paul Guillaume Collection	Au piano, 1891-1892
Paris.	Georges Bernheim Collection	Coco playing with bricks, 1904
Paris.	Bernheim Jeune Collection	Baigneuse s'essuyant, 1910
Paris.	Bernheim Jeune Collection	Baigneuse s'essuyant, 1917
Paris.	M. Kapferer Collection	Baigneuses, c. 1901 ¹
Paris.	Jos. Hessel Collection	Pot pourri, c. 1892
Paris.	Jos. Hessel Collection	Jeune fille lutinant son amie avec un crabe, c. 1897
Paris.	Jos. Hessel Collection	Le Grand Nu, 1904-6
Paris.	Jos. Hessel Collection	Le Jardin à Cagnes
Paris.	Jos. Hessel Collection	Nu sur un canapé, c. 1909
Paris.	H. Bernstein Collection	Self portrait, c. 1875
Paris.	J. Strauss Collection	Richard Wagner, 1881
Paris.	Bader Collection	Ode aux Fleurs, 1909
Berlin.	National Gallery	Les demoiselles Bérard, 1884
Berlin.	Arnhold Collection	Boy with a cat, 1868
Berlin.	Mathiessen Gallery	Cagnes, 1901
Berlin.	Thannhäuser Gallery	The Judgement of Paris, c. 1908
Berlin.	A. Gold Collection	Idyll, c. 1914
Cologne.	Wallraf-Richartz Museum	Sisley and his Wife, 1868
Essen.	Folkwang Museum	Lise, 1867
Frankfort.	R. v. Hirsch Collection	Skating, 1868
Frankfort.	Museum	Le Déjeuner, 1879
The Hague.	Kröller-Müller Collection	Le Clown au Cirque, 1868
The Hague.	Kröller-Müller Collection	Au Café, 1877

¹ This is a freely painted composition resembling, with some additional figures, the Tyson *Baigneuses* (1885).



Paris, Pierre Fenouillet Collection

AUGUSTE RENOIR. Femme allaitant son enfant.



London, S. Courtauld Collection

AUGUSTE RENOIR. The Shoelace.



Paris. Musée d'Orsay. 1882.

AUGUSTE RENOIR, Gabrielle aux bijoux

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Winterthur.	O. Reinhardt Collec- tion	Portrait of Chocquet, 1876
Moscow.	Stchoukine Collection	Nude. Anna, 1875
Moscow.	Museum of Modern Art. Morosoff Collec- tion	Mlle Samary (full length), 1879
Stockholm.	National Museum	Chez la mère Antoine, c. 1865
Stockholm.	National Museum	La Grenouillère, 1868
Stockholm.	National Museum	Conversation, 1879
Oslo.	Stang Collection	Baigneuse (blonde), 1881-1882
Oslo.	Stang Collection	Nude with raised arms
Tokio.	Matsugata Collection	Parisiennes habillées en Algériennes, 1872

(a) *Renoir's Life*

Pierre-Auguste Renoir was the great artist of the Impressionist group, and one of the greatest masters of the whole French school, if not, indeed, of European painting. His work was unequal because, as an essentially original artist, he was always in process of development. But his finest pictures will hold their own in exalted company, and the works of his extreme old age, when his brush was strapped to his paralysed hand, rank with the great works which Titian and Rembrandt produced at the very end of their careers.

Renoir was the son of a tailor of Limoges, who came to Paris and arranged for him to work as a painter in a porcelain factory. Later he painted blinds and managed to save enough money to enter Gleyre's art school in 1862. He left this atelier, as noted, with Monet and Sisley in the following year, at the age of twenty-one.

Between 1863 and the end of the Franco-Prussian war he shared the poverty of Monet, with whom he was all the time on terms of intimate friendship. In this period he made ends meet with occasional porcelain painting and other commercial work, and with a little assistance from his mother.

Between 1870 and 1878 his pictures were regularly rejected from the Salons and shown at the Impressionist exhibitions as noted; in these years he sold pictures to Caillebotte and Chocquet and received support from Durand-Ruel.

In the 'seventies, also, he began to paint portraits, and this

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was his main source of income till the middle of the 'eighties. His chief patrons for portraits were the publisher, Charpentier, and Mme Charpentier, who procured him a number of commissions and insured by influence the exhibition in the 1879 Salon of his portrait of the actress, *Jeanne Samary* (Moscow Museum of Modern Art). The large group, *Mme Charpentier and her children*, painted in 1878, is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

In 1880-1881 Renoir went to Italy, visiting Rome, Venice, Naples and Palermo, where he painted a portrait of Wagner, which is now in the J. Strauss Collection in Paris.¹

On his way back to France he was attacked by the rheumatic gout, which was eventually to paralyse him, and he spent the early months of 1882 in Algeria in the hope of curing it.

When he returned to Paris he received commissions for ten portraits from a wealthy family named Bérard, which put him in funds. His group, *Les Demoiselles Bérard*, is now in the National Gallery, Berlin.

In 1883 Durand-Ruel arranged a one-man show of seventy of his pictures in the empty house in the Boulevard de la Madeleine, to which I have already referred. From this time onwards he benefited by the growing appreciation of Impressionist pictures, and he made business arrangements with Durand-Ruel which enabled him to support himself and a wife and family without difficulty.

Soon after 1890 the rheumatic gout began to cripple him, and he established himself at Cagnes, in the Midi, where he remained for the rest of his life. In his last years he painted seated in a wheeled chair with his brush strapped to his hand which was contracted and paralysed.

(b) *Renoir's Art*

Renoir's earliest pictures, which he subsequently destroyed, were Romantic illustrations in the manner of the followers of Delacroix. He then worked through a moment when he was influenced by photographs; of this *Lise*, which was in the Salon

¹ Wagner sat only half an hour for this portrait.

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of 1868, and is now in the Folkwang Museum at Essen, and *La Grenouillère* in Stockholm, are examples.

In the 'seventies he became a mature and personal artist, especially intrigued with the play of light. To symbolise this play of light he banished black and brown from his palette and applied the colours of the spectrum to his canvas in small touches.

La petite fille à l'arrosoir (Pl. 103), now in the Chester Dale Collection, New York, *La Place Pigalle* (Pl. 104a), in the Courtauld Collection, London, *Circus Children* (Pl. 107), now in the Chicago Art Institute, and *Le Moulin de la Galette* (Pl. 104b), of which there are versions in the Louvre and in a private collection in America, are typical of his delightful painting at this period.¹

Renoir regarded portraiture at this period as a form of potboiling, and when painting portraits he concentrated on representation and likeness. But even so, he was able to impart considerable charm to most of his productions.

In the choice of subject at this period he was influenced by the Realism of Courbet, Manet and Zola, and he sought material in places where people foregathered for amusement. At the same time he painted some landscapes and began those studies of women and children and nudes that he was to continue all his life.

On his Italian journey he was impressed by Raphael and by Pompeian paintings, and he became dissatisfied with his own light touch. He decided to abandon painting out of doors and to seek linear rhythms and more architectural stability in his compositions. In order to master line, he worked on his return to Paris in an art school, and eventually he removed, for a time, the charming madder reds and spectrum colours from his palette and made efforts to paint severe pictures, with insistence upon drawing, in a range of colours restricted to red and yellow ochre, terre verte and black.

¹ Other typical pictures are the landscape *Les Vendangeurs* and *Les Canotiers à Chatou* in the Lewisohn Collection, New York, *La première sortie* in the London National Gallery, Millbank, *La Loge* in the Courtauld Collection, London, *La petite danseuse* in the Widener Collection, Philadelphia, *Half-nude Girl doing her hair* in the Barnes Foundation, Merion, Philadelphia, *La Balançoire* in the Louvre and *Le Déjeuner* in Frankfurt.

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The *Femme allaitant son enfant* (Pl. 106), in Mrs. Chester Beatty's collection in London, and the *Baigneuses* (Pl. 105), now in the Tyson Collection, Philadelphia, are two masterpieces produced as a result of the new orientation; both would hold their own in any collection of great pictures in the world.¹

The discipline to which Renoir subjected himself for the purpose of these pictures was of enormous service to his development. *La petite fille à l'arrosoir* (Pl. 103), a thing of exquisite colour gradated to pale blues and pinks from the strong Prussian blue of the child's dress and the strong red of the poppies in the grass, is an enchanting picture; but if Renoir had merely repeated this for ever his work in the end would inevitably have become flimsy. After the Italian journey all his pictures show architectural qualities that gradually increase as the years go on.

When the "tight" manner had served its purpose Renoir abandoned it, and in the last years of the 'eighties and in the early 'nineties he sought and found a compromise between his early manner and the severe linear and architectural rhythms, of which he was now a master. *Les Chapeaux d'été* (Pl. 108), now in the Ryerson Collection, Chicago, is an example of the works in which this compromise was achieved.

At the end of the 'nineties he painted versions of most of the "tight" pictures in the new manner of *les Chapeaux d'été*. His son, M. Pierre Renoir, has, for example, a version of *Femme allaitant son enfant* (Pl. 109a), which it is instructive to compare with the 1886 picture (Pl. 106).

¹ The "tight," rather dry, manner which Renoir employed in these pictures was a great disappointment to amateurs who had just begun to appreciate the loose handling of the Impressionists and the photographic snapshot *tranche de vie* pictures which had been produced by Manet (Pl. 111a), who was now just dead, and by the artists who had followed him in this manner.

George Moore wrote, about 1886: "Some seven or eight years ago Renoir succeeded in attaining a very distinct and personal expression of his individuality. Out of a hundred influences he had succeeded in extracting an art as beautiful as it was new. . . . Then he went to Venice. . . . When he returned to Paris and resolved to subject himself to two years of hard study in an art school. For two years he laboured in a life class working on an average from seven to ten hours a day, and in two years he had utterly destroyed every trace of the charming and delightful art which had taken him twenty years to build up" (cf. note, p. 270).



CAMILLE PISSARRO
Avenue de la Gare, Paris

RENOIR'S ART

After his retirement to Cagnes he painted no more "subject" or exhibition pictures, and very few portraits. All financial problems having been solved by his arrangements for selling his work, he was now free to paint "for his amusement." This he continued to do every day for the remaining twenty-five years of his life, and he concentrated ever more and more on the perception of monumental grandeur in simple material and on the animation of the picture surface into architectural colour. *Gabrielle with the jewel* (Pl. 110) in M. Paul Guillaume's collection is an example of his majestic painting about the age of seventy.

In the last period of all he reduced his palette to a few colours in which reds predominated; with his brush strapped to his hand he replaced manual agility by knowledge derived from sixty years' incessant study; and he produced *La Femme en-cointe* in M. Pierre Renoir's collection, *The Shoelace* (Pl. 109b) in Mr. Courtauld's collection, and a large number of similar pictures in which abstract rhythms and architectural relations are the main preoccupation.

Renoir was thus one of the rare artists who continuously developed their conception of picture-making all through their lives; and this development corresponded to the general development of the art of painting at the time. From 1868 to 1883 Renoir was a notable figure in the Impressionist-Realist movement. In 1885 and 1886, with his *Baigneuses* (Pl. 105) and *Femme allaitant son enfant* (Pl. 106), he arrived by his own efforts at the starting point of the Cubist-Classical Renaissance as it was appearing, at that very moment, in Seurat's *Baignade* (now in the London National Gallery, Millbank) and *Un Dimanche d'Été à la Grande Jatte* (Pl. 133), now in Chicago Art Institute, which were then being shown in the *Salon des Indépendants*, where the new movement was launched. After 1900 he arrived again by his own efforts at solutions of the same problems which pre-occupied Cézanne, as we see if we compare *The Shoelace* (Pl. 109b) with the central group of figures in *Les Grandes Baigneuses* (Pl. 124b) in the Pellerin Collection, on which Cézanne worked from 1895 till 1902.

But this development—though intensely interesting to students of art history—is not sufficient in itself to rank Renoir among the great masters. He enters that company (a) because

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this development was accompanied by the power to make his work a microcosm of which the great artists alone hold the secret, and (b) because he achieved intuitively in a superlative degree that intimate contact with root simplicities which, as already noted, is one of the characteristics of the French genius.

For the last thirty years of his life he painted only women, children and flowers; but he was not a painter of particular women, particular children, or particular flowers. He was a painter—almost perhaps *the* painter—of *la femme, l'enfant* and *fleurs*. To Renoir all women, all children and all flowers looked alike because he perceived them generically. A nude figure by Renoir after 1884 is not a painting of a naked girl called Jeanne This or Henriette That, but a pictorial symbol of the first woman and the last. A flower piece by Renoir is not a painted imitation of a bunch of blossoms, just picked by his servant in the garden, but a painted symbol of the life that flowers convey.

There was a moment when the portrait painting by which for a time Renoir had to earn his living, almost decoyed him to a habit of individual characterisation. We see this, for example, in *Le Déjeuner des Canotiers* (Pl. 112b), now in the Phillips Memorial Gallery in Washington, which was painted at the time when Renoir was much engaged with portraits. But after 1884 Renoir became a classical artist, and remained one to the end.¹

At the same time he was an artist who retained his contact with sensual life. He was scarcely conscious of the classical nature of his preoccupation. Immensely learned in the science of picture-making, he remained to the last as simple as a child.

Renoir said, "*Chacun chante sa chanson s'il a de la voix.*" The world has been deliciously enriched by the song that Renoir sang.

¹ *Le Déjeuner des Canotiers* was painted in 1882-1883 at the moment when Renoir, after his return from Italy, was engaged with the Bérard portraits and was working at drawing in order to equip himself for *Les Baigneuses* (Pl. 105) and *l'emme allaitant son enfant* (Pl. 106). In front of *Le Déjeuner des Canotiers* George Moore's judgment (cf. note, p. 268) is quite comprehensible.

EDGAR DEGAS

v. *Edgar Degas*

BORN PARIS 1834.

DIED PARIS 1917

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES¹

London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Jeunes Spartiates s'exerçant à la lutte, 1860
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	La Plage, c. 1873
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Miss Lola at the Cirque Fernando, 1879
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Danseuses, c. 1899
London.	Victoria and Albert Museum	The Ballet in Roberto il Diavolo, 1872
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Deux danseuses sur la scène: La pointe, ² c. 1877
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Danseuses: Corsages jaunes (pastel), c. 1883
London.	Lord Ivor Spencer Churchill Collection	Femme s'essuyant (pastel), c. 1895
London.	F. Hindley Smith Collection	Two Women in a Café, c. 1879
London.	Messrs. Reid and Lefevre Collection	Diego Martelli, ³ 1879
Glasgow.	Private Collection	Le Ballet (pastel), c. 1890
Scotland.	Sir William Burrell Collection	La Répétition, ⁴ 1875
Scotland.	Sir William Burrell Collection	Duranty (pastel), 1879
Scotland.	Private Collection	Le Foyer de la danse à l'Opéra (pastel), c. 1878
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Woman with chrysanthemums, 1865
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	L'Amateur d'estampes, 1866
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	La Bouderie, c. 1873
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Danseuses à la barre, 1875
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Intérieur, 1875
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	La Modiste (pastel), c. 1882

¹ For a catalogue with eighty reproductions the student is referred to J. B. Manson's *The Life and Work of Edgar Degas*.

² This picture was formerly in the collection of Sir James Murray, London.

³ This picture was formerly in the collection of Mrs. Workman, London.

⁴ This picture is now on loan at the London National Gallery, Millbank.

EDGAR DEGAS

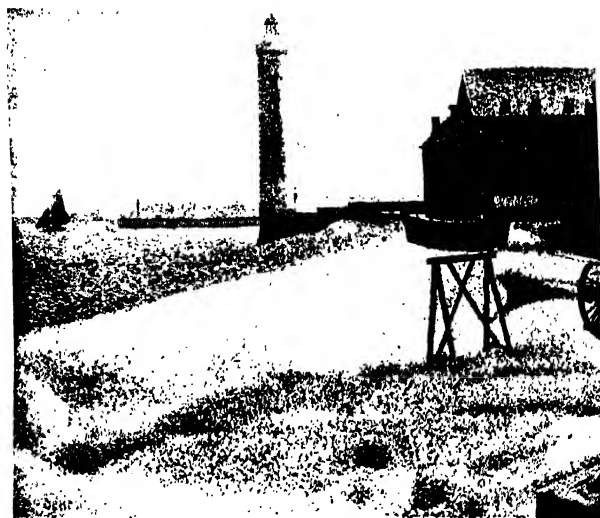
New York.	Mrs. C. H. Tweed Collection	L'Ecole de danse, c. 1875
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Jules Finot, 1868
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Ballet Scene, c. 1872
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Etude pour Danseuse sur la scène, c. 1876
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Duranty (pastel), 1879
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Danseuse dans sa loge (pastel), c. 1880
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Femme Couchée (pastel), c. 1895
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	Chevaux de courses, c. 1878
Boston.	Museum of Fine Arts	Voitures aux courses, 1873
Chicago.	Mrs. L. L. Coburn Collection	Uncle and Niece, 1862
Washington.	Corcoran Gallery	Ecole de danse (pastel), c. 1875
Washington.	Corcoran Gallery	Café chantant (pastel), c. 1875
Washington.	Corcoran Gallery	Les discuses (pastel), c. 1880
Washington.	Corcoran Gallery	La loge (pastel), c. 1880
Washington.	Corcoran Gallery	Le Ballet (pastel), c. 1882
U.S.A.	Private Collection	Le Départ, c. 1872
Paris.	Louvre	Avant le départ, 1862 ?
Paris.	Louvre	Portrait de famille, 1866
Paris.	Louvre	L'Orchestre, 1868
Paris.	Louvre	Le Foyer de la danse, 1872
Paris.	Louvre	La femme à la potiche, 1872
Paris.	Louvre	Le Pédicure, 1873
Paris.	Louvre	À la Bourse, 1873
Paris.	Louvre	Répétition d'un Ballet sur la scène, 1874
Paris.	Louvre	Classe de Danse, 1874
Paris.	Louvre	L'Absinthe, 1876-1877
Paris.	Louvre	La Danseuse au bouquet saluant sur la scène (pastel), 1877
Paris.	Louvre	Devant les Tribunes, 1879
Paris.	Louvre	Aux Courses, c. 1880
Paris.	Louvre	Les Repasseuses, ¹ c. 1884
Paris.	Louvre	Après le bain (pastel), c. 1886
Paris.	Louvre	Le tub (pastel), 1886
Paris.	Louvre	Un Café, Boulevard Montmartre, 1877

¹ There is another version of this picture, showing several dressed evening shirts on the ironer's table, in the Durand-Ruel Collection.



Chicago, Art Institute

EDOUARD MANET. Les Courses à Longchamp.



London, Messrs. Reid and Lefevre Collection

GEORGES SEURAT. Le Phare, Honfleur.



London: Messrs. Reid and Edey Collection

EDGAR D'EGAS. Diego Martelli.



Washington: Phillips Memorial Collection

AUGUSTE RENOIR. Le Dejeuner des Canotiers.

DEGAS' LIFE

Paris.	Luxembourg	Danseuse nouant son brodequin ¹ (pastel), c. 1876
Paris.	Luxembourg	Danseuse sur la scène (pastel), c. 1876
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Danseuses and nudes (pastels), 1898-1900
Lyons.	Museum	Aux Ambassadeurs (pastel) 1875
Pau.	Museum	Le Comptoir de Coton, 1873
Frankfort.	Staedelsches Institut.	Musiciens à l'orchestre, 1872
Stockholm.	National Museum	Danseuses, 1899

(a) *Degas' Life*

Edgar Degas was the son of a French banker and a Creole mother from New Orleans. His father was a man of means, and Degas himself was always provided with money.

Degas was first educated for the Law, but found his vocation in 1855, at the age of twenty-one, when he entered the École des Beaux Arts. In 1856 he went to Italy, where he seems to have remained for two years. He visited, among other places, Rome and Naples.

On his return to Paris he painted history-pictures in the pseudo-classical Beaux-Arts tradition and exhibited them in the Salons; he also painted portrait groups and interiors influenced by Courbet and Fantin-Latour.

A few years before the war he began to frequent the Café Guerbois, where he met Manet and the other Impressionists, and also the critic Duranty, who eventually persuaded him to turn his back on the Beaux Arts and to join in the Impressionist movement of his own day.

In 1870 he fought in the war, and in 1871 he took part in the street fighting of the Commune. In 1873 he went to New Orleans, where the family business had a branch in which he himself had an interest. He painted there *Le Comptoir du Coton*, now in the Museum at Pau.

On his return he ceased to exhibit at the Salons, and contributed up to 1886 to the Impressionist exhibitions as already noted.

¹ This famous picture really depicts a dancer rubbing her ankle with her left hand.

DEGAS' ART

After 1886, at the age of fifty-two, he became a recluse and ceased to exhibit. He had a contract with Durand-Ruel, to whom he delivered all his pictures. He never married. He worked incessantly in his studio in Paris till he died in 1917, at the age of eighty-three. He was rather ill-natured, and he had a caustic wit.

(b) Degas' Art

When Degas was persuaded by Duranty to join the Impressionist-Realistic movement, he began by painting descriptive pictures of racecourses and so forth. Of these *Le Départ* (Pl. 94b), now in a private collection in America, and the *Voitures aux courses*, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, are examples.¹

After the war he continued to record life in places where people foregathered for amusement. He sometimes worked in oil and sometimes in pastel. The brilliant pastel, *Aux Ambassadeurs* (Pl. 116), now in the Lyons Museum, is typical of his finest achievements in this field.

But Degas was fundamentally a Romantic; he was intrigued by the unusually emotive fragment; he was less interested in generic than in individual and characteristic form; and he was fascinated by occupational gestures. In the second half of the 'seventies he concentrated on those studies of ballet-dancers practising—such as *Le Foyer de la danse* (Pl. 115b), now in the Cargill Collection in Scotland—and actually dancing on the stage, as in *La Danseuse au bouquet saluant sur la scène* (Pl. 115a), now in the Louvre—by which he is most widely known.

From 1875 to 1885 most of his work was concerned with the study of occupational gestures. *Washerwomen carrying their baskets*, formerly in Sir William Eden's collection, was painted in 1879.² In the same year he painted *Miss Lola at the Cirque*

¹ The Louvre has a racecourse picture by Degas, *Avant le Départ*, which is dated 1862. But Degas worked on this picture in 1880, and I think he must have dated it then 1862 instead of 1868 or 1872 in error. Anyone who has tried to get dates out of artists has discovered that they are often quite unable to remember exactly when they painted their pictures unless they chance to have some mnemonic.

² I do not know the present whereabouts of this picture.



Chicago, Art Institute. Birch-Bartlett Collection

H. DE TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. Au Moulin Rouge.



Paris, Louvre

EDGAR DEGAS. Un Café: Boulevard Montmartre (pastel).



EDGAR DEGAS. *Le Ballet* (pastel).
Glasgow: Private Collection



FRANÇOIS BOUCHER. *Cupid a Captive*.
London: Wallace Collection

DEGAS' ART

Fernando, now in the London National Gallery, Millbank, which shows a girl-acrobat hanging by her teeth above the heads of the spectators at the circus. *Les Repasseuses*, now in the Louvre, which depicts women ironing shirts in a laundry, and *La Modiste*, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, are other examples of these studies of occupational gesture.¹

At this time Degas also began a series of pastels of nude women at their toilet; and here he concentrated on the individual characteristic attitudes of his models.

We find a similar approach in the case of his portraits. Like the pastellist La Tour, he delighted in the marks which occupation and environment imprint on the physique, and in his portraits he always sought to present his sitters in their environment. *Diego Martelli* (Pl. 112a), formerly in Mrs. Workman's collection, London, and *L'Absinthe* (Pl. 118), which contains a portrait of the engraver Desboutsins, are typical examples of his portraiture.²

In his later years he continued the series of pastels of ballet dancers and the series of intimate female nudes.

Degas must be ranked as a Romantic-Realist; and he thus stands nearer to Courbet than to Manet and the Impressionists. But he also had a keen decorative sense and a delight in pictorial colour. He looked upon the life in the places where people foregathered for amusement as a new kind of social pageantry, which had replaced the pageantry of the old régime. Like the French painters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, like le Brun (Pl. 37b), Mignard (Pl. 41c), Watteau (Pls. 44a and 47), and Boucher (Pls. 66b and 114a), he found in the performances at the theatre material for decorative pageant painting, and in the eighteenth century he would have been continuously employed on decorations.

Degas was both a superb and a subtle colourist. *La Répétition*, in Sir William Burrell's collection, which is fundamentally an

¹ At this period Degas was also an observer of prostitutes. His pastel, *Un Café, Boulevard Montmartre* (Pl. 113b), now in the Louvre, dates from 1877; he made studies in *maisons closes* in 1879 (cf. p. 281).

² Degas might have written La Tour's comment on this subject quoted on p. 131. The student should compare his *Diego Martelli* (Pl. 112a) with La Tour's *The Lawyer Laideguive* (Pl. 39b). *Diego Martelli* is now in the collection of Messrs. Reid and Lefevre, London. *L'Absinthe* is in the Louvre.

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC

occupational record, is rendered decorative by exquisite disposal of the coloured sashes worn by the dancers; *La danseuse au bouquet saluant sur la scène* (Pl. 115a) is a sonorous harmony of earth-reds, greys and greens; and in the later pictures the colour glows and burns with ever more glorious intensity. In a pastel like *Le Ballet* (Pl. 114b), drawn in 1890, Degas, in fact, arrived at a new type of picture as decorative, in its way, as Boucher's *Cupid a Captive* (Pl. 114a), which I reproduce on the same page.

In evolving this new type of decorative picture Degas used Japanese prints and photographs; and all through his career he produced compositions in which the accidental effects of photographs were deliberately and most ingeniously exploited.¹

At the same time we must realise that as a Romantic Realist he preferred an ugly characteristic face to a smooth pretty one, and limbs distorted by occupational abuse to the smoothly rounded limbs of the nymphs portrayed by Boucher. No French artist before the Romantic movement would have made the plebeian face of the dancer in *Le Ballet* (Pl. 114b) the point of focus in a decorative scheme.

vi. *Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec*

BORN ALBI 1864. DIED MALRAMÉ 1901.

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES²

London.	National Gallery, Mill- bank	Femme assise.
London.	S. Courtauld Collec- tion	Jane Avril leaving the Moulin Rouge, 1892
London.	Messrs. Reid and Lefevre Collection	Maxime de Thomas au bal de l'Opéra, 1896
London.	F. Hindley Smith Col- lection	La Toilette, 1891
Scotland.	D. W. T. Cargill Col- lection	À la mie, 1891

¹ Degas was fond of putting a large head or object in the foreground or cutting off half a figure by the frame.

² For catalogues of Toulouse-Lautrec's numerous paintings, drawings, lithographs, etchings and posters, with many reproductions, the student is referred to Maurice Joyant's two volumes, *Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec*, published in 1926 and 1927. Some of the pictures which I mention have been acquired by their present owners since 1927.

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC

New York.	Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Sullivan Collection	La Rousse au jardin, 1891
New York.	Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Sullivan Collection	La Toilette, 1891
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	The Opera "Messalina" at Bordeaux, 1900
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Riding to the Bois, 1888
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	La Liscuse
New York.	Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale Collection	Au bar. Alfred la Guigne, 1894
New York.	Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale Collection	The Quadrille at the Moulin Rouge, 1892
New York.	Messrs. Wildenstein Collection	Jane Avril dancing, ¹ 1893
New York.	Private Collection	May Belfort singing, 1895
New York.	G. Brooks Collection	La femme au chien
New York.	Messrs. J. Seligmann	Oscar Wilde (water-colour), 1895
Brooklyn.	Museum	La femme à la cigarette, 1890
Chicago.	Art Institute (Birch Bartlett Memorial)	Au Moulin Rouge, 1892
Chicago.	Art Institute (Birch Bartlett Memorial)	Danseuses sur la scène, c. 1886
Chicago.	Art Institute	Au Cirque Fernando, 1888
Chicago.	W. S. Brewster Collection	May Milton, 1895
Boston.	J. T. Spaulding Collection	Jeune Femme à l'atelier, c. 1889
Los Angeles.	W. P. Harrison Collection	Chien couché, 1888
Cleveland.	Museum of Art	M. Boileau au café, 1893
Cleveland.	F. A. Ginn Collection	La Clownesse Cha-u-Kao, 1895
Buffalo.	Allbright Collection	La Rousse, 1889
Paris.	Louvre	La Clownesse, 1895
Paris.	Louvre	Paul Leclercq, 1897
Paris.	Louvre	Baraque de la Goulue à la Foire du Trône
		(1) La Danse mauresque
		(2) La Danse au Moulin Rouge, 1895
Paris.	Petit Palais	Alphonse de Toulouse-Lautrec conduisant son mail-coach à Nice, 1881
Paris.	Luxembourg	La Femme au boa noir, 1892

¹ This picture is a study for the poster where the same figure appears.

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC

Paris.	Luxembourg	Deux Femmes au bar, 1894
Paris.	Luxembourg	La Toilette, 1896
Paris.	Jos. Hessel Collection	À table chez M. et Madame Natanson, 1895
Paris.	M. Exsteens Collection	Femme nue accroupie, 1897
Paris.	Mme D— Collection	Chilpéric, 1896
Paris.	Mme D— Collection	May Belfort singing "Daddy wouldn't buy me a Bow-wow," 1895
Paris.	Mme D— Collection	Au lit. Le Baiser, 1892
Paris.	Mme D— Collection	La Goulue, 1891
Paris.	Bernheim Jeune Collection	La Goulue entering the Moulin Rouge, 1892
Paris.	Paul Rosenberg Collection	Au Moulin Rouge. La Danse, 1890
Paris.	Sacha Guitry Collection	Femme à sa Toilette, c. 1888
Paris.	Sacha Guitry Collection	L'Assommoir, 1900
Paris.	Mme. Ch. Pomaret Collection	Décoration du salon de la maison de la rue d'Amboise, 1892
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Artiste Bruant, 1892
Paris ?	Tapié de Celeyran Collection	Une opération de Trachéotomie par le Docteur Péan, 1891
Albi.	Museum	Geule de Bois, 1889
Albi.	Museum	Tenanciers de maison close, 1893
Albi.	Museum	Le Blanchisseur de la Maison, 1894
Albi.	Museum	Au Salon : rue des Moulins, 1894
Albi.	Museum	L'Anglaise du Star au Havre, 1899 ¹
Albi.	Museum	Deux femmes : Maison de la rue des Moulins, 1894
Albi.	Museum	Yvette Guilbert : Les gants noirs (Project for a poster), 1894
Albi.	Museum	Un examen à la Faculté de Médecine 1901
Albi.	Museum	Soldat anglais fumant sa pipe, 1898
Berlin.	P. Cassirer Collection	L'Abandon : Les Deux Amies, 1895
Prague.	Gallery of Modern Art	Au Moulin Rouge. Les Deux Valseuses, 1892
Stockholm.	Museum	La Grosse Marie, 1884
Copenhagen.	Carlsberg Museum	Suzanne Valadon, 1885
Copenhagen.	Carlsberg Museum	M. Delaporte au Jardin de Paris, 1893

¹ There is another picture of this subject in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius J. Sullivan, New York.



Paris, Louvre

EDGAR DEGAS, La Danseuse au bouquet saluant sur la scène (pastel).



Scotland, Private Collection

EDGAR DEGAS, Le Foyer de la danse (pastel).



L'Art de la Musique

EDGAR DEGAS. *Aux Ambassadeurs.*

LAUTREC'S LIFE

(a) *Lautrec's Life and Work*

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, who brought the Romantic-Realism of Degas to a climax, was a direct descendant of the Counts of Toulouse, and he could trace his family history from the thirteenth century. His father was an eccentric sportsman and amateur sculptor who modelled animals in clay; his uncle was an amateur painter. He was born on the family estate at Albi; and suffered from infancy with weakness of the bones. In childhood he met with accidents and broke both thighs; he thus became a cripple with abnormally short legs.

As a young man he inherited his father's love of open-air sports and the traditional occupations of country gentlemen, and he began to paint pictures of horses, grooms and so forth before he was twenty. His *Alphonse de Toulouse-Lautrec conduisant son mail-coach à Nice*, now in the Petit-Palais in Paris, was painted when he was seventeen.

In 1882, when he was eighteen, he went to Paris and worked in the studio of Leon Bonnat for five years; he then worked for a few months in the studio of Cormon.¹

During these years he painted academic studies (the Stockholm Museum has his *Grosse Marie* of 1884) and began to show his individuality in the portrait drawings of *Suzanne Valadon* (now in the Museum at Copenhagen) and of Van Gogh, whom he met in 1886.²

When he abandoned the art schools he shared with a friend a studio in Montmartre; this was in a courtyard where Degas also had his studio; and he seems at this time to have made Degas' acquaintance. About 1887, when he was twenty-three,

¹ Cormon was a Salon artist. Leon Bonnat (1833-1922) was born at Bayonne, and spent his early years with his family in Madrid, where his father had a bookshop. In 1853 his father died and he returned to Paris, where he worked at the Beaux Arts and won a Prix de Rome. In his early work he was influenced by Fantin-Latour. Later he painted compositions of religious subjects and photographic portraits. His collection of pictures and many admirable drawings by the Old Masters and Ingres can be seen in the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne.

² Lautrec's drawing, which shows Van Gogh in profile seated at a table in a café, is now in the collection of Mme Th. Van Gogh-Bonger.

LAUTREC'S LIFE

he made an arrangement with his family which secured him an independent income, and he took a studio of his own in the same region. In 1888 and 1889 he painted pictures of the *Cirque Fernando*, and *plein air* and atelier studies of young women.¹

At this time he became a regular frequenter of the music halls, bars and dancing establishments of Montmartre, and began his chronicles of the life he observed there.

In 1891 his cousin, Dr. Tapié de Celeyran, came to Paris to work in the Hospital International, founded by the surgeon Péan. Lautrec witnessed several operations and recorded them afterwards in pictures.²

Between 1891 and 1896 he was at the height of his powers. His most brilliant studies of Montmartre habitués and music hall singers date from these years. His output was prodigious. The grim café scene, *À la mie* (Pl. 118a), now in the D. W. T. Cargill Collection in Scotland, dates from 1891. *Au Moulin Rouge* (Pl. 113a), now in the Chicago Art Institute, was painted in 1892. A series of studies of the Moulin-Rouge floor-dancers, La Goulue and Jane Avril, dates from 1892 and 1893. *Au bar: Alfred la Guigne* (Pl. 117), now in the Chester Dale Collection, New York, and the celebrated series of lithographs of Yvette Guilbert date from 1894. The May Belfort paintings, drawings and lithographs were produced in 1895.³

¹ These studies were painted in a technique influenced by Pissarro. Lautrec at this time was one of a number of artists whose work was encouraged by Van Gogh's brother Theo, who was in the firm of Goupil. The group included Gauguin, Seurat, and Van Gogh himself from 1886 to 1888. Seurat, who was one of the founders of the Salon des Indépendants in 1884, persuaded Lautrec to exhibit there. He sent his first picture in 1889, and exhibited there regularly afterwards. Pissarro though a much older man was interested in Seurat's work and theories (cf. p. 237), and though he did not exhibit at the Indépendants he was associated with the group, and influenced it and was influenced by it.

² Dr. Tapié is the tall figure beside Lautrec in the picture *Au Moulin Rouge* (Pl. 113a).

³ The Jane Avril series includes *Jane Avril dancing* (a study for the poster), which is now in the collection of Messrs. Wildenstein et Cie, Paris, and the wonderful *Jane Avril leaving the Moulin Rouge*, in Mr. Samuel Courtauld's collection in London.

Yvette Guilbert appeared in 1890. Lautrec had been a delighted follower



New York: Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale Collection

H. DE TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. — Au bar : Alfred la Guérite.



Scotland, D. W. F. Carell Collection

H. DE TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. À la mie.



Paris, F. S. G.

EDGAR DE GAS. L'Absinthe.



Copenhagen, Carlsberg Museum

EDOUARD MANET. Le Buvcur d'Absinthe.

LAUTREC'S LIFE

At this period also he made drawings and paintings of the inhabitants of *maisons closes* (as Degas had done in 1879, and as Guys had done some twenty years before), and he decorated the interior of one of these establishments. He never publicly exhibited the *maison close* series, though they are technically among his finest paintings; they now can be seen in the Lautrec Museum at Albi.¹

In 1893 he exhibited thirty of his pictures in a gallery on the Boulevard Montmartre; none was sold; and, indeed, he was never able to sell his pictures at any period of his life. But he made some money by his numerous lithographs, posters and illustrations.

Degas visited the exhibition on the Boulevard Montmartre. "*Ca, Lautrec, on voit que vous êtes du bâtiment,*" was his comment.

By 1895 Lautrec had begun to take too much alcohol, and some friend suggested to his father that he ought to go into a home. "Nonsense," replied the eccentric sportsman, "let him go to England where *tous les nobles s'alcoolisent.*" And to England he went several times between 1895 and 1898; there he associated mainly with Whistler and Conder and drank less, in fact, than he had been drinking in France. He was in London during the Wilde trial, and made a coloured drawing of Wilde (now in the Jacques Seligmann Collection in New York) after meeting him for a few minutes.²

of her work, and made many sketches of her from the stalls. In 1894 he approached her with a proposal to design a poster. She was at first horrified by his productions and wrote him: "*Pour l'amour du ciel ne me faites pas: si atrocement laide.*" But her intelligence and wit soon led her to recognise the merit of the dozens of drawings and lithographs which he devoted to recording her expressive gestures and grimaces, and the two artists eventually became friends.

The most famous of the May Belfort studies depicts her singing, "Daddy wouldn't buy me a bow-wow." It is now in the collection of Mme D—— in Paris.

¹ After Lautrec's death his mother presented numerous works remaining in his studio, together with some early works, to his native town; they are now exhibited in the Palais Archiépiscopal. A visit to this museum is essential for the student of Lautrec's work. *Au Salon: rue des Moulins a maison close* picture, and the most important in the museum is, I think, his finest work.

² The drawing is a head and bust portrait; it shows Wilde in a blue dinner jacket with a velvet collar; there is a deep expanse of shirt front; the hair is

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In 1896 he drew the intimate and sympathetic lithographs of young women known as *Elles* ; and in 1897 a number of nudes, including the *Femme nue accroupie*, now in the Exsteens Collection, in Paris. In 1898 he had an exhibition in London at the Goupil Gallery, which created a *succès de scandale*, but was otherwise a failure. It had a bad Press ; the critic of the *Daily Chronicle* wrote : " M. de Toulouse-Lautrec has only one idea in his head—vulgarity."

At the end of 1898 he began to be affected by his alcoholic habits ; and in February 1899, he had a serious nervous breakdown and was removed to a mental home. He recovered after a few days' abstinence from alcohol, and ten weeks later he was discharged by his doctors. In the home he produced fifty drawings and lithographs, including a series of Circus subjects, and the oil pictures, *The Keeper* and *Inmates of the Home*, which can be seen at Albi.

In July, 1899, he went to Le Havre intending to sail to Archachon. There he was attracted by an English barmaid at the " Star"—a low bar frequented by English sailors. From this girl he painted *L'Anglaise au " Star " du Havre* (now at Albi), a work comparable only with Hogarth's *Shrimp Girl* in the National Gallery in London.¹

In 1900 he saw at Bordeaux a performance of Isador de Lara's opera, *Messalina*, and painted the picture which is now in the collection of Mr. Adolph Lewisohn in New York. But his amazing visual memory was now beginning to fail him, and as aids for the picture he asked his friend Joyant to send him photographs of the production. In April, 1901, he was back in Paris painting racecourse pictures, scenes at Armenonville,

yellow ; the shadows on the face are green ; the eyes sag. In the background we see Big Ben.

In addition to these visits to England Lautrec travelled in the 'nineties to Belgium, where he exhibited some pictures, to Holland, Portugal and Spain. He was a good sailor and travelled whenever possible by sea.

¹ Lautrec returned to Le Havre in June, 1900, to recapture the barmaid, but without success, as we know from a letter to Joyant which reads : "*Old chump. Les Stars et autres bars sont très surveillés par la police, rien à faire ; il n'y a plus de barmaids. . . . A toi, H. L. and Co. (tout ce qu'il y a de plus limited.)*"

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nudes, and *Un examen à la Faculté de Médecine*, which is now at Albi.

In August, 1901, he felt his end approaching and joined his mother at the Château de Malramé in the Gironde. In September he died there at the age of thirty-six.

(b) *Lautrec's Art*

Debarred by his infirmity from the open air life and the pleasures of the world in which he was born, Lautrec sought the world of society's outcasts among whom, as an aristocrat, he could feel himself a king. By this world he soon became intensely fascinated. As a Romantic-Realistic artist he sought for ever closer contact with its realities. He cared little for the pageantry of lights and colours that had inspired Renoir to paint *Le Moulin de la Galette* (Pl. 104b) and Degas to create his colourful decorations; the vulgar little face in Degas' *Le Ballet* (Pl. 114b) was his *point de départ*, and he peered ever closer into the sordid drama that lay behind the glamour of the footlights and of the night haunts of Paris.

Guys in the 'seventies had already drawn the women of the dance halls performing the Can-can. He had drawn them as generic figures moving forward with uplifted skirts like lovely vessels in full sail; he had extracted architectural light and shade from the contrast of the white linen and the dark surrounding clothes. Lautrec drew these women as individuals. They were so much individuals to him that he imbued them with the life if not of historical personalities, at any rate, with the life of the most vivid characters in fiction. No novelist has created a personality whom we see more vividly than Jane Avril. Lautrec has shown us her lean legs dancing, her scarlet lips parted in the dancer's smile, and the green shadows under the livid cheek-bones as she passed the gas lamp outside the dance hall when her work was done. In the same way he has shown us La Goulue, a woman of coarser mould who throned it in the Moulin Rouge for a brief moment, and then went steadily downhill.


Degas, as we have seen, was a social recorder who made comments on occupational gesture as he drew. But his

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comments are mild and obvious compared with Lautrec's. Degas drew features and muscles distorted by occupation. Lautrec drew occupationally distorted souls.

I reproduce together Manet's *Le Buveur d' Absinthe* (Pl. 118c), Degas' *L' Absinthe* (Pl. 118b) and Lautrec's *A la mie* (Pl. 118a). Manet's picture of a dressed-up studio model is mere painting. Degas has given us an environmental portrait. Lautrec has portrayed a drama of the underworld that is hideous and true.

Lautrec was a very interesting colourist. He experimented with green shadows and achieved intriguing and sinister effects. He studied Japanese prints for his compositions, and from the Japanese he acquired a calligraphic line that he used ingeniously in his attractive posters. As a poster designer he still stands, in fact, supreme. He is the father of the art as it is practised in Paris to this day.



PART SEVEN

THE POST-IMPRESSIONISTS

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THE POST-IMPRESSIONISTS

i. *Post-Impressionism*

Post-Impressionism is a term of convenience used to describe the paintings of Gauguin and Van Gogh and of their followers and imitators. The works of the German imitators of these artists are described by German critics as "*Expressionismus*."

I have traced the growth of the vocational concept of the artist from Chardin, who gave up his lucrative figure painting to devote himself to still life, and Corot, who was content to earn nothing and to be supported by his parents for sixteen years, to the Impressionists who braved hostile criticism and stuck to their experimental art. With Gauguin and Van Gogh the story takes on a new and more sinister aspect.

Gauguin abandoned a lucrative position in a bank, his wife and family, the society of artists and literary men, and the amenities of Parisian civilisation in a fanatical belief that popular painting could be regenerated and the photographic vision conquered by contact with primitive life in the South Sea Islands.

Van Gogh, who was always an *exalté*, poured his vitality, debilitated by years of hardship, with fanatical prodigality into his pictures. On the material side both asked of life nothing but the most meagre necessities; and even these they were never able to earn by their work.

Monet and Renoir had worked for twenty years in poverty before fortune began to favour them; in those years they adjusted themselves to conditions, derived what they could from available amenities, and added nothing of their own volition to their hard fate; after the tide turned they both painted in comfort for another forty years. Gauguin painted in all for only twenty years and Van Gogh for only eight; both suffered extremities of hardship unimagined by Monet and Renoir, who were merely poor, both tormented themselves also at the same time, and both eventually succumbed.

It is important to recognise that Gauguin and Van Gogh converted the vocational concept of the artist to a standard of fanaticism that society has no right to demand or even, perhaps, tolerate; because the activity called art as pursued by these men

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was not only a vocation but also a prolonged, spectacular and agonising form of suicide.

Gauguin himself discovered this too late. "*La souffrance vous aiguise le génie,*" he wrote. "*Il n'en faut pas trop cependant sinon elle vous tue.*"

From the æsthetic standpoint the contributions of Gauguin and Van Gogh, which were made more than forty years ago, constituted at once the finale of the Romantic movement and the overture of the Cubist-Classical Renaissance. In Gauguin's colour we encounter the drums and trumpets of Delacroix, which have now taken on the timbre of the tom-tom and the reed pipe, and with the new timbre we get a less impetuous though not less compelling rhythm. In Van Gogh's passionate records of emotive fragments we get the spirit of Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus* keyed up to what is often an intolerable pitch. But both Gauguin and Van Gogh had contact with the pictorial concepts that created the Cubist-Classical Renaissance, which was the real artistic movement of their day. They studied Japanese prints, and they were acquainted with Seurat and Cézanne. They were both conscious of the attempts that were being made around them to explore the emotivity of architectural relations of lines and colours, spaces and planes; they themselves made explorations in this field. But they were not temperamentally or intellectually equipped to regenerate European painting. They were both psychologically abnormal personalities who painted great autobiographical pictures at the price of their own lives.

ij. *Paul Gauguin*

BORN PARIS 1851.

DIED MARQUESAS ISLES 1903

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES¹

- | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| London. | National Gallery, Mill-
bank | Tahitian group, c. 1893 ? |
| London. | National Gallery, Mill-
bank | Flower piece, 1896 |

¹ I am not acquainted with any satisfactory catalogue of Gauguin's work. The considerable literature on Gauguin provides very scanty information about the present whereabouts of his pictures. My list, as all the lists in this book, consists of (a) pictures which I have seen, and (b) pictures of which



London, S. Courtauld Collection

PAUL GAUGUIN. *Stacking Hay*



Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland

PAUL GAUGUIN. *Jacob wrestling with the Angel.*



LA ORANA MARIA
New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PAUL GAUGUIN — La Orana Maria ('Ave Maria').

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London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Faa Iheihe (Tahitian group), 1898
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Brittany Landscape. Stacking Hay, 1889 ¹
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Te Reriva (La Case), 1897
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Neve's more, 1897
London.	Maresco Pearce Collection	Landscape with the Red Dog (Poul-du), 1890
England ?	Private Collection	The Agony in the Garden, 1889 ²
England.	Private Collection	Self portrait in a striped jersey, 1889
Edinburgh.	National Gallery of Scotland	Jacob wrestling with the Angel, 1888
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	la Orana Maria (Ave Maria), 1891
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Maternité, c. 1896 ?
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	The Bathers, 1898
New York.	H. C. Goodyear Collection	Manao Tupapaù (L'esprit veille), ³ 1892
New York.	Private Collection	Poèmes barbares, 1896
New York.	James W. Barney Collection	Arlésiennnes going to Church, 1888
New York.	J. Stransky Collection	Reverie (Tahitian girl in rocking-chair), 1891
Boston.	Mr. and Mrs. Shaw McKean Collection	Meyer de Haan ⁴ (with " Sartor Resartus " and " Paradise Lost "), 1889
Chicago.	Art Institute	Te Burao (Tahitian landscape), 1892
Chicago.	Art Institute. Birch Bartlett Collection	Mahana no Atua : (The Day of the God), 1894
Chicago.	Art Institute. Birch Bartlett Collection	Tahitian portrait group, 1901

I have photographs before me. I do not know the present whereabouts of *La Femme aux Mangos* (1893) (a recumbent Tahitian nude, in the attitude of Manet's *Olympia*, in a Tahitian landscape); *Trois Tahitiens* (half-length group with back view of a youth in the centre); *La Reine des Aréois* (Tahitian woman seated on patterned drapery in a landscape); *Otahi* (Tahitian woman crouching on the ground with splayed feet).

¹ This picture is sometimes erroneously described as *Les Meules*.

² This picture in 1924 was in Sir Michael Sadler's collection (Oxford).

³ This picture formerly belonged to Sir Michael Sadler (Oxford).

⁴ The dwarfish figure in *Contes barbares* (Essen) is also a portrait of Meyer de Haan.

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Pittsburgh.	W. S. Stimmel Collec- tion	Self portrait with lute, c. 1889
Cleveland.	Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Ginn Collection	Woman in Waves, 1889
Worcester (Mass).	Art Museum	Te Faaturuma : La Femme accrou- pie, 1891
Paris.	Louvre	La Belle Angèle (Pont-Aven), 1889
Paris.	Louvre	Le Cheval blanc, c. 1896
Paris.	Luxembourg	Femmes de Tahiti
Paris.	Luxembourg	Still life
Paris.	Musée des arts décora- tifs	Ravine on the Coast, 1888
Paris.	Musée des arts décora- tifs	Arles Landscape, 1888
Paris.	Private Collection	Landscape with figures. Mar- tinique, c. 1887
Paris..	M. Kapferer Collection	Laveuses à Tahiti, 1898
Paris.	M. Kapferer Collection	Irarote Ovirî : The Fruit-bearers, 1891
Paris.	Henri Lerolle Collec- tion	Arii Matamoe (La fin royale), ¹ 1892
Paris.	Mme Daniel de Mon- freid Collection	Tchuro : (Tahitian girl in striped overall with fan)
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Breton Children, c. 1894
Paris.	Paul Rosenberg Collec- tion	Le Christ Jaune, 1889
Paris.	Wildenstein Collection	Head of a Tahitian child with a flower in her hair
Paris.	F. Norget Collection	Côte de Belle-Angenay, 1889
Marly-le-roi.	A. Maillol Collection	Decorative Seascape, 1889
Lyons.	Museum	Nave nave Mahana (Jours délicieux) 1896
Mons.	Private Collection	Noa Noa (Le pays des parfums), 1892
Brussels.	Mme Maus Collection	Le Poldu, 1890
Berlin.	Galerie Flechtheim	Breton Girl, 1894
Berlin.	Galerie Thannhäuser	Arearea (Tahitian pastoral with flute player and dogs in fore- ground, idol in background), c. 1892
Bremen.	Private Collection	The blue roofs, Rouen, 1884
Frankfort.	Private Collection	Dr. Gachet, 1884

¹ Gauguin himself described this picture which has a large idol's head in the foreground : "*Une tête de canaque coupée bien arrangée sur un coussin blanc dans un palais de mon invention et gardée par des femmes de mon invention aussi.*"

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Frankfort.	Private Collection	Te Matete "The world weary," ¹ 1892
Cologne.	Wallraf-Richartz Museum	Riders by the Sea, 1902
Essen.	Folkwang Museum	Contes barbares, c. 1891
Basel.	Private Collection	Haymakers, 1889
Basel.	Private Collection	Nafaa faai poipo (When will they marry?), 1892
Copenhagen.	Museum	Nude Woman Sewing, 1880
Copenhagen.	Museum	Gauguin's family with a baby- carriage in a garden, c. 1881
Copenhagen.	Museum	Garden in Snow, c. 1881
Copenhagen.	Museum	Pont Aven in Spring, 1888
Copenhagen.	Private Collection	Vahine no te tiare (half-length por- trait of a Tahitian woman), 1891
Stockholm.	National Museum	Le Poldu, 1890
Bergen.	Private Collection	Nude Boy, 1889
Oslo.	National Gallery	Interior: Gauguin's home in Paris, 1881
Oslo.	National Gallery	Exotic still life, 1899
Oslo.	Private Collection	D'où venons-nous, que sommes- nous, où allons-nous, 1897-1898
Moscow.	Museum of Modern Art. Morosoff Col- lection	Tahitian pastoral with dog in fore- ground, 1892
Moscow.	Museum of Modern Art. Morosoff Col- lection	Nave Nave Moc. Tahitian pastoral, c. 1892
Moscow.	Museum of Modern Art. Morosoff Col- lection	Still life. Oiseaux des Isles, 1902

(a) *Gauguin's Life*

The story of Gauguin's life has been repeatedly told.

He was the son of a Parisian journalist and a mother of Creole origin. In 1851 his father set off with his family to Peru and died on the journey. Paul lived at Lima with his mother for five years in a house where there were negro and Chinese servants and a lunatic chained up on the roof—a lunatic who once escaped and got into the child's bedroom. When he was eight he was brought back to Paris and educated in a

¹ This picture, well known from a colour-print, represents a number of Tahitians sitting on a low seat against a sunlit background; some of the figures have flowers in their hair.

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Jesuit seminary at Orleans, where his father's brother lived. At seventeen he went to sea, and remained at sea till he was twenty-one. He then entered a financial house in Paris, where he succeeded and made money. In his spare time at this period he dabbled in painting and sculpture. He married a Danish girl in 1873.

A year or two later he met Pissarro and began to collect pictures by the Impressionist group. In 1880 and 1881 he was himself represented in the Impressionist exhibitions.

In 1883 he gave up his employment and his income and decided to find some post that would enable him to give more time to painting pictures. He looked for such posts in Rouen and in Denmark and found nothing. His wife then quarrelled with him; encouraged by her Danish relations she reproached him for throwing away his income for the senseless mania of painting pictures and the pleasure of posing as a Bohemian artist; in 1885 he left her in Denmark with four of their five children and took one boy with him to Paris.

There he was soon entirely without money and he got employment as a bill-sticker; then he was promoted to the office of the bill-sticking company and was able to paint in some spare time. In 1886 he contributed nineteen pictures to the last Impressionist Exhibition.

Later in that year he went to Pont Aven in Brittany, where living was cheap. In 1887 he sold everything he possessed and sailed with an artist friend for Martinique, where he had heard that living was still cheaper; to earn money on the way he took on navy's work at Panama. After a few months in Martinique his companion contracted fever and attempted suicide; and Gauguin brought him back to Paris.

In the early part of 1888 he was financed for a while by a friend of his old stockbroking days; and he began to take an interest in ceramics and mediaeval stained glass. He also had a one-man show in a gallery, of which Van Gogh's brother Theo was manager, and sold a few pictures for small sums. In the summer he was in Brittany; from October to December at Arles with Van Gogh. At Arles he had some intercourse with Cézanne.¹

¹ In his picture-buying days Gauguin had acquired a still life by Cézanne, which he retained long after he sold all the others. It figures in the back-

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In 1889 he was again in Brittany, where he had financial assistance from the eccentric Dutch *littérateur*, Meyer de Haan ; in 1890 he began to share a studio with Daniel de Monfried, who remained his friend and confidant and helped him with money to the end.

At the beginning of 1891 he sold thirty of his pictures by auction, and made just under 10,000 francs. With this money and funds raised by a benefit performance and exhibition at the Théâtre des Arts, he went to Tahiti.

He remained in Tahiti on this first visit for two years.

In August, 1893, he returned to France to take up a legacy of 13,000 francs from his uncle at Orleans. He installed himself in a studio in Paris, where he dressed and entertained in a fantastic manner with a Javanese woman as his companion and attendant. Later in the year he exhibited forty-six Tahitian pictures and some carvings at the Durand-Ruel Gallery ; they caused a sensation, but hardly anything was sold.

In 1894 he went to Brittany with the Javanese woman and had his ankle broken in a brawl with some sailors. In that year also he contracted syphilis in Paris.

In February, 1895, he tried to sell the pictures from the Durand-Ruel exhibition by auction ; but few reached the nominal reserves ; later in the year with such money as he had made from this sale and what remained of the 13,000 francs he returned to Tahiti.

During this second period in Tahiti his disease grew upon him, and he lived in conditions of misery, continually quarrelling with the French officials, whom he accused of ill-treating the natives. In 1898 he tried to commit suicide.

In 1901 he left Tahiti and moved to the Marquesas Isles. There he began fresh quarrels of the same kind, and there he died two years later, at the age of fifty-two.

(b) *Gauguin's Art*

Gauguin did not become a really personal artist till he had been painting continuously for five or six years and on and off ground of his painting, *L'Arlésienne*, which I saw at the Leicester Galleries, London, in 1924, but of which I do not know the present whereabouts.

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for ten. His early pictures were influenced by Fantin-Latour and by Pissarro and the Impressionists.¹

The decisive year was 1888—the year when he studied mediæval glass, saw Cézanne's pictures at Aix, and learned something from a painter named Emil Bernard, whom he met in Brittany.

The style appears in the pictures painted in Brittany in 1888, 1889 and 1890, such as *Jacob wrestling with the Angel* (Pl. 119b), now in the National Gallery of Scotland, *Le Christ Jaune*, now in the Paul Rosenberg Collection in Paris, *Stacking Hay* (Pl. 119a), now in Mr. Courtauld's collection in London, and the *Landscape with a red dog* in Mr. Maresco Pearce's collection in London. It is fundamentally a decorative style appealing by rhythmic line and arbitrary colour; but in the religious pictures Gauguin has also tried to recapture the naïf directness of observation and imagination which he had observed in the stained glass windows. In *Jacob wrestling with the Angel* (Pl. 119b) we see the episode as it appeared to the Breton peasant women after a sermon in the village church; and Gauguin, partly to express this idea, has used the colours and, to some extent, the technique of stained glass windows.

In the first period at Tahiti Gauguin's sensibility was enriched by the experience of his new surroundings; he developed his style to symbolise effects of tropical sunlight and shade; and the pictures which he painted on this first Tahitian visit are his finest productions. They include *Ia Orana Maria (Ave Maria)* (Pl. 120), now in Mr. Adolph Lewisohn's collection in New York, and the celebrated *L'esprit veille*, now in Mr. H. C. Good-year's collection in that city.

In the second Tahitian period Gauguin endeavoured to get more solidity into his figures and to stress their emotivity on the

¹ The most interesting of the early works are the *Interior* (now in the Oslo Museum), which represents his own home, and the *Garden scene with a baby-carriage* (now in the Copenhagen Museum), which were painted in 1881 when he was still an amateur. In these pictures he was working on lines which have since been developed by M. Pierre Bonnard and M. Edouard Vuillard.

Both Bonnard and Vuillard were born in 1867. Bonnard exhibited at the Salon des Indépendants from 1891 onwards, Vuillard from 1901 to 1910. Both are still living. Their art, based on Impressionism, shows the influence both of Lautrec and the Cubist-Classical Renaissance.

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psychological side. In works like *Nevermore* (Pl. 121b) and *Te Reriva* (*La Case*) (Pl. 121a), in Mr. Courtauld's collection, the artist's Romantic instinct competes with the decorative concept and to some extent destroys it.

Gauguin, as I have said, made genuine and abnormal sacrifices for his painting. But there was also an element of the *jeu d'acteur* in his constitution. Tall and handsome in a rather barbaric way he had a very conspicuous personality; he was vain and liked making an impression and creating a scandal. There was an element of mumbo-jumbo in all his Tahitian pictures, which was reinforced by the Tahitian titles which he frequently inscribed upon them. In the early works this element is incidental to the decorative splendour of the ensemble; in the later works it is a conspicuous constituent of the picture's content.

Gauguin's talent was essentially decorative. He was a magnificent colourist, an admirable designer and a master of flowing line. Like Degas, he would have found regular employment as a decorator in the seventeenth or eighteenth century in France. At the end of the nineteenth century he could not find employment; and the task of regenerating European painting, which he set himself, was accomplished by two men with more brains, more patience and more humility—Georges Seurat and Paul Cézanne.

iii. *Vincent Van Gogh*

BORN GROOT-ZUNDERT 1853. DIED AUVERS 1890

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES¹

London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Sunflowers, 1888
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	La chaise à la pipe : (The Chair), 1888
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Les blés jaunes (Landscape with cypress trees), 1889

¹ A *catalogue raisonné* fully illustrated has been compiled by M. de la Faille who has also published a supplement referring to some pictures in the catalogue which, he states, are forgeries.

Van Gogh painted several versions of some of his important pictures. I have indicated the present whereabouts of other versions in some cases in this list.

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London.	National Gallery, Millbank	L'herbage aux papillons (Arles), 1888-1889
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Paysage à Arles : La haie, 1889
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Self-portrait with the bandaged head, ¹ 1889
London.	C. F. Stoop Collection	Vue à Auvers, 1890
London.	Mrs. Sutro Collection	Restaurant Carrel à Arles, 1888
London.	A. J. McNeill Reid Collection	Portrait of J. McNeill Reid, ² 1886-1888
Glasgow.	MacInnes Collection	Le Moulin de la Galette, 1886-1887
New York.	A. Sachs Collection	The Gardens of Arles, 1888
New York.	Dr. H. Bakwin Collection	L'Arlésienne, ³ 1888
New York.	Chester Dale Collection	Le bébé de Roulin (Marcel Roulin), 1888
New York.	Chester Dale Collection	Girl in a striped dress (La Mousmé) ⁴ 1888
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	L'Arlésienne (Mme Ginoux), ⁵ 1888
New York.	Julius Oppenheimer Collection	The First steps (after Millet), 1890
Buffalo.	Museum of Modern Art	La Maison de la Crau, 1888-1889
Buffalo.	Museum of Art	Paysage des environs de Saint-Rémy, 1889
Chicago.	W. S. Brewster Collection	Fruit, 1886-1888
Chicago.	Art Institute. Birch Bartlett Collection	Montmartre, 1886-1888
Chicago.	Art Institute. Birch Bartlett Collection	Van Gogh's Bedroom. ⁶ (Arles 1888 or Saint-Rémy 1889)

¹ There is another version of this picture in the Fayet Collection at Igny.

² This picture is erroneously catalogued by de la Faille as *Portrait of the Artist*. The sitter was the art-dealer who was then studying painting in Paris and was acquainted with Van Gogh.

³ This picture, which must not be confused with *L'Arlésienne (Mme Ginoux)*, was painted from a drawing by Gauguin which is now in the collection of Dr. F. H. Hirschland, New York. Other versions are in the Municipal Museum, Amsterdam, and in the collections of Mme Kröller-Müller (The Hague), Mr. Durieux-Cassirer (Berlin) and a collection in Munich.

⁴ There is another version of this picture in the Stang Collection, Oslo.

⁵ This picture which I reproduce (Pl. 122) is one of several versions. A version in the Friedländer-Fould Collection, in Berlin, has a pair of gloves and a hunting crop on the table instead of the books.

⁶ I reproduce this picture (Pl. 123b). There are other versions in the collections of Mr. V. W. Van Gogh and Prince Matsugata.

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Chicago.	Art Institute. Birch	<i>La Berceuse</i> (Mme Roulin), ¹ 1889
	Bartlett Collection	
Chicago.	Art Institute. Birch	Still life. Melon, Fish, and Jar. ²
	Bartlett Collection	
Detroit.	Institute of Arts	Portrait of J. McNeill Reid in a straw hat, ³ c. 1888
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	<i>L'Usine</i> , 1886-1888
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	<i>The Postman Roulin</i> , ⁴ 1888
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	<i>Le Lupanar</i> (la salle de café), 1888
Boston.	R. Treat Paine Collection	<i>The Postman Roulin</i> , ⁵ 1888
Boston.	G. E. Fuller Collection	Street in Saint-Rémy (Les Paveurs), ⁶ 1889
Boston.	J. T. Spaulding Collection	Houses at Auvers, 1890
Paris.	Louvre	<i>La Guingette</i> , c. 1887
Paris.	Louvre	Restaurant de la Sirène, à Joinville, c. 1887
Paris.	Louvre	Still life: <i>Fritillaire couronne impériale dans un vase de cuivre</i> , 1887
Paris.	Musée Rodin	<i>Le Père Tanguy</i> , c. 1887
Paris.	P. Rosenberg Gallery	Portrait de Mlle Ravoux, la fille du cabaretier, 1890
Paris.	Jacques Doucet Collection	Sunflowers, 1888
Paris.	Jacques Doucet Collection	Iris, 1888
Auvers-sur-Oise.	Dr. Paul Gachet Collection	Portrait du docteur Gachet, 1890
Igny.	Fayet Collection	Jardin public à Arles, 1888

¹ This represents the wife of the postman of Arles. Other versions are in the collections of Mr. V. W. Van Gogh (Holland), Mme Kröller-Müller (The Hague), Mr. R. Stacchelin (Bâle), Mr. Goldschmidt-Rothschild (Frankfort), and another private collection in Paris.

² This picture is not catalogued by de la Faille.

³ This is catalogued by de la Faille as a self-portrait, but it evidently represents Reid.

⁴ This represents Roulin against a flowered wall-paper. Other portraits of this postman with his patriarchal beard are in the collections of Mr. Mayer (Zurich) and Mme Kröller-Müller (The Hague).

⁵ This is a three-quarter length picture. Roulin sits against a plain background on the cane chair in which Van Gogh painted *La Mousmé*. He rests his left hand on a table.

⁶ There is another picture of this subject in the H. Von Tschudi Collection in Munich.

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Amsterdam.	Municipal Museum	Carnations, <i>c.</i> 1887
Amsterdam.	Municipal Museum	Montmartre, <i>c.</i> 1887
Amsterdam.	Mme van Blaaderen-Hoogendijk Collection	Still life (oranges and lemons), 1889
Holland.	V. W. Van Gogh Collection	Van Gogh's House at Arles, 1888
Holland.	V. W. Van Gogh Collection	Pietà (after Delacroix), 1890
Holland.	V. W. Van Gogh Collection	The Drawbridge : Arles, 1888
Holland.	V. W. Van Gogh Collection	Stormy Landscape. Auvers, 1890 ¹
The Hague.	Municipal Museum	Still life. Flowers, <i>c.</i> 1887
The Hague.	Mme Kröller-Müller Collection	Le café, le soir, 1888
The Hague.	Mme Kröller-Müller Collection	Le Pont de l'Anglois, 1888
Berlin.	Durieux-Cassirer Collection	Le passage inférieur du chemin de fer (Avenue Montmajour), 1888
Berlin.	Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Collection	La maison de santé à Saint-Rémy, 1889
Berlin.	Mendelssohn-Bartholdy Collection	Self-portrait, <i>c.</i> 1888
Berlin.	M. Meierowsky	Le Collégien, 1890
Breslau.	Silberberg Collection	Le Pont de fer de Trinquetaille, 1888
Dresden.	Museum	Still life. Pears, 1888-1889
Essen.	Folkwang Museum	Armand Roulin, 1888
Essen.	Folkwang Museum	La Moisson. Saint-Rémy, 1889
Essen.	Folkwang Museum	Le parc de l'hôpital à Saint-Rémy, 1889
Frankfort.	Staedelsches Institut	La Chaumière, <i>c.</i> 1885
Frankfort.	Staedelsches Institut	Portrait du docteur Gachet, 1890
Munich.	Thannhäuser Art Gallery	La mère Roulin avec son bébé, 1888
Stettin.	Museum	Allée près d'Arles, 1888
Prague.	Museum	Les blés verts, 1889
Copenhagen.	Museum	Paysage montagneux. Saint-Rémy, 1889
Stockholm.	Museum	Les Meules, 1888-1889
Tokyo.	Museum	Sunflowers, 1888

¹ This picture was painted within a month of the artist's death.



London, S. Courtauld Collection

PAUL GAUGUIN, *Te Reriva (La Case)*.



London, S. Courtauld Collection

PAUL GAUGUIN, *Nevermore*.



Ar. York. L'Arlesienne (v. O).

VINCENT VAN GOGH, L'Arlesienne.

VAN GOGH'S LIFE

(a) *Van Gogh's Life*¹

The story of Van Gogh's life has been told and re-told. Stripped of the dramatisation the following would seem to have been the facts.

He was the son of a Protestant pastor of Groot-Zuudert in Holland. In 1869, at the age of sixteen, he was put to work in the picture-dealing firm of Goupil at The Hague, with which his uncle was connected. Four years later he went to the firm's branch in London where he fell in love with a girl who was engaged to someone else. In 1875 and the early part of 1876 he worked in the firm's branch in Paris. Then he left or was dismissed.

In the summer of 1876 he went again to England and worked as a schoolmaster at Ramsgate and at Isleworth near London. He was now a religious zealot and did some lay preaching among the poor.

In 1877 he returned to Holland to train as a minister of the Gospel. He was impatient to begin service and did not complete his training.

In 1878 he procured some work as a lay preacher among the miners of the Borinage in Belgium. The missionary society which employed him disapproved of his fanatical ascetism and at the end of 1879 they dispensed with his services.

After some months of misery and frustration during which he tried to orient himself by reading Shakespeare, Dickens, Victor Hugo, Michelet and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, he decided to become an artist. His brother Theo, who was in the Goupil firm in Paris, encouraged and financed him; and thereafter he was financed by Theo all his life.

Van Gogh began to draw continuously in 1880 at the age of twenty-seven. He worked for a time under Anton Mauve (1838-1888), a Dutch follower of Corot.

In 1881 he fell in love with a cousin, a widow. She refused to have anything to do with him.

In 1882 he established a simple household with a street-woman

¹ Cf. Meier-Gracfe. *Vincent Van Gogh, A Biographical Study*.

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whom he hoped to regenerate. He left her the next year and went to Neunen, a village in Brabant, to which his parents had moved. There he had another frustrated love-affair—this time with a respectable woman who called herself “mystical” and was really crazy and ended by committing suicide.

In this period Van Gogh paid visits to the Rijks Museum in Amsterdam and to the gallery in Antwerp.

In 1886, when he was thirty-three, he went to Paris and established himself with Theo. There he met Gauguin, Lautrec, Pissarro and Seurat, and as a result of these contacts he became the artist that we know.

In February 1888 he went down to Arles in Provence. He was joined there in October by Gauguin; and both artists saw something of Cézanne at Aix.

In December he had an attack of madness. He quarrelled with Gauguin and threw a glass at his head. In an *estaminet* he was asked by a girl to give her a five-franc piece for Christmas; he replied that he had not got one; the girl was playing with his ears; “Then give me,” she said, “one of these big ears”; Van Gogh went home, cut off an ear, and sent it, wrapped up in a parcel, to the girl. After this Van Gogh went into the local hospital. Gauguin, when Theo arrived to make arrangements, went back to Paris.

Van Gogh recovered from this fit almost immediately. (He never became chronically insane.) After a few days he was discharged from the hospital (January 7th, 1889).

In February he resumed work in the little yellow house where he had lived for the past year. The older Arlesians made light of his attack; but the idlers and the school children began to treat him as the village idiot; they collected outside his windows and teased him into violent rages. Finally, the Mayor was petitioned, and in March Van Gogh was taken to the local lunatic asylum where he continued to paint his pictures.

In May he went to an asylum at Saint-Rémy. He was allowed to paint in his room and in the garden; he was allowed also to go out and he painted in the neighbouring country, between brief fits of madness that descended upon him periodically. Theo sent him prints after Delacroix, Rembrandt, Millet, Doré,



London, National Gallery, Millbank

VINCENT VAN GOGH
Sunflowers

VAN GOGH'S ART

all sorts of artists, and when he was not allowed out Van Gogh painted pictures from these prints.¹

A year later (May 1890) he left Saint-Rémy, visited Theo in Paris, and then placed himself under the care of Dr. Gachet at Auvers. Dr. Gachet collected pictures by the Impressionists and also by Gauguin and Cézanne with whom he was acquainted. He was a man who believed he understood artists. At Auvers, Van Gogh had complete liberty, and in Dr. Gachet he found a genuine admirer of his pictures. There he painted landscapes and Dr. Gachet's portrait; and there, in July, he shot himself.

(b) *Van Gogh's Art*

Van Gogh was a man who had little education and scarcely any culture. He had no intuitive comprehension of works of art. He regarded Rembrandt, Delacroix, Chardin and Millet as great artists; he also regarded Meissonier in the same way. He was always, in fact, addle-pated; and the amorous and other frustrations of his early manhood contributed to the confusion of his brain. Moreover, he was always excessive in his enthusiasms and his sacrifices. He entirely lacked the sense of what the French call *la mesure*—the quality that creates the even *tempo* in the work of Poussin and Chardin, Renoir, Seurat and Cézanne.

He did not become an artist of consequence till he had contact with Gauguin, Lautrec and Seurat in Paris. Till then he had made genre drawings and painted gloomy pictures influenced by Millet and the Dutch popular nineteenth-century artists. His early work has intensity because in this period of frustration it represented a channel of release for his inhibitions. If Van Gogh had died in 1885 we should rank him as a minor Romantic-Realist—if we chanced to be acquainted with his name.

Meier-Graefe has told us, rightly, that in his early years Van Gogh "saw in art nothing but a penetration into nature." In his early work he asked art to help him towards that contact

¹ *The First Steps (after Millet)*, now in Mr. Julius Oppenheimer's collection in New York, and the *Pietà (after Delacroix)*, in Mr. V. W. Van Gogh's collection, are pictures painted in this way. They are not copies of the prints, but free improvisations upon them. The *Pietà* especially is very characteristic of Van Gogh's later handling and colour.

VAN GOGH'S ART

with humble life which he had sought in his missionary activities. At Neunen he was a kind of hysterical Louis le Nain.

When he met Seurat he was persuaded that man's architectural conscience was as real as any other aspect of his spirit, and that the painter's business was to acquire a language that would achieve contact with that aspect of man's spirit. Van Gogh accepted this new conception of the painter's function, though he was temperamentally incapable of architectural creation as it was understood by Seurat. In Paris he cleared the browns and greys from his palette and painted *La Guingette* and *Le Restaurant de la Sirène* (both now in the Louvre), where we see the Impressionism of Pissarro and Monet stiffened on the one hand by Seurat's doctrines, and rendered on the other more intense by Van Gogh's temperament and vision. At this time also he painted *Le Père Tanguy*, the artist colourman who was then storing most of Cézanne's pictures. In Van Gogh's picture (which is now in the Musée Rodin, Paris) Tanguy is seen in a short jacket and peasant's hat against a background of Japanese prints. The background is significant because Japanese prints contributed a great deal to the development of Van Gogh's art.

When Van Gogh went to Arles, he suddenly had direct contact with forms of simple happiness which, he recognised, were as fundamental as the misery of the Borinage and the gloom of his early years. Here men were not all frustrated. They lived simply, drank wine, made love without tears, and were burned brown by the sun. To this harassed Northerner the sun of the Midi was a continual intoxication; in Arles the pores of Van Gogh's skin opened, the sweat poured out, and he felt for the first time in his life a peaceful and a happy man. He worked with the energy that can only come in such conditions. He painted all day, every day. He worked in shadeless places, in the hottest hours, and he frequently went out without a hat.¹

Nearly all Van Gogh's enormous *œuvre* was painted between March and December, 1888. In the excitement of his new experience he forgot all about Seurat and invented his own

¹ When Van Gogh had his first attack and cut off his ear, his Arlesian friends—Roulin, the postman, and his wife (*La Berceuse*) and Mme Ginoux, the café keeper (*L'Arlésienne*)—ascribed his illness to sunstroke.



Chicago, Art Institute

BERTHE MORISOT, *La Toilette*.



Chicago, Art Institute

VINCENT VAN GOGH, *Bedroom at Arles*.



Rome, Vatican

RAPHAEL, The School of Athens.



Papeete, Tahiti

PAUL GAUGUIN, Les grandes Baigneuses

VAN GOGH'S ART

method to symbolise the vitality that poured into him from the glorious South. He broke right away from the Impressionists, and completely abandoned the photographic vision. He used colours as agents producing emotive associations, and used them for this reason in their fullest intensity. The blue of the sky in *Van Gogh's House at Arles*, in Mr. V. W. Van Gogh's collection, is deliberately forced to extreme emotive pitch; the yellows in the *Sunflowers* (Pl. XII), now in the London National Gallery, Millbank, are pitched up for the same reason and in the same way. Blue for Van Gogh was not a colour—it was the sky. Yellow was not a colour—it was sun itself.

At the same time he retained the emotive handling of his Paris period and increased it—not in the Romantic way to stress his own emotional condition at the moment of painting, but in order to symbolise the throb and pulse of life.

In this spirit and in this technique he painted the picture known as *Van Gogh's Bedroom at Arles* (Pl. 123b), now in the Chicago Art Institute, which has the qualities of the celebrated *Chaise à la pipe* in the London National Gallery, Millbank. I reproduce *Van Gogh's Bedroom at Arles* on the same page as Berthe Morisot's *La Toilette* (Pl. 123a), to point the distance which Van Gogh travelled from Impressionism when he surrendered his frustrated being to the South.

When Gauguin arrived, Van Gogh was reminded not of Seurat, of whom Gauguin thought nothing, but of the claims of decoration and of Japanese prints. The figure in *L'Arlesienne* (Pl. 122) is silhouetted against the background like the figures in the prints behind *Père Tanguy's* head.

This version of *L'Arlesienne*, now in Mr. Lewisohn's collection in New York, is perhaps Van Gogh's most notable achievement. The background is a brilliant lemon yellow; the chair is scarlet; the table-cloth is green; the front book is scarlet; the open book has a scarlet edge; the white of the pages and of the woman's scarf is a pale bluish green; the woman's hair and dress are deep Prussian blue. There is the whole atmosphere of Arles in this amazing picture—all its curious stillness, its vitality that seems to have roots in the Forum, and its searching light.

Van Gogh's terrific desire to achieve contact with his subject

VAN GOGH'S ART

comes out in the portrait characterisation of this picture. *L'Arlésienne* is one of the great Romantic portraits of the world. No artist has ever seized more passionately on a personality as an individual emotive fragment and rendered the individuality with more intensity.

Van Gogh's debt to Gauguin appears most clearly in the last pictures which he painted at Auvers. In Arles he was so profoundly stirred, so furiously eager to penetrate his surroundings, that he rarely paused to co-ordinate his pictures into linear rhythms. At Auvers, where the sun was milder and the atmosphere more calm, his art became more rational. The lines swirl and dance, it is true, in a kind of ecstasy, and the colour is more than ever arbitrary and symbolic ; but the dance obeys a rhythm, and the lines are lines of growth. Van Gogh's last pictures are the best organised and the most controlled. He was a little careful of his vitality in these pictures. At the end of his madness he painted—perhaps for the first time—as a man who was completely sane.

It is, however, essential to recognise that the great Arles pictures are what they are because Van Gogh destroyed himself to paint them. They thus set a standard of intensity which no artist who respects his sanity can dare to rival or repeat.



PAUL CÉZANNE. La Montagne Sainte-Victoire.



Hutchinson brooks. Earl of Sandwich Collection

ANDRÉ DERAIN. The Wood.



Harlow. Textile Museum

CLAUDE-LE FORRAIN. Drawing. The Wood.

PART EIGHT

THE CUBIST-CLASSICAL RENAISSANCE

- i. *Character of the Movement*
- ij. *Paul Cézanne*
- iiij. *Georges Seurat*



PAUL CÉZANNE. Le Lac d'Annecy.



Claude Lorrain, Rome, 1630-1682

CLAUDE LORRAIN. Drawing. The Tiber above Rome.



André Derain, 1880-1967

ANDRÉ DERAIN. Paysage du Midi.

THE CUBIST-CLASSICAL RENAISSANCE

i. *Character of the Movement*

II have discussed the Cubist-Classical Renaissance in *The Modern Movement in Art*. Here I need only indicate its salient features and some outstanding dates.

Speaking generally the movement in its intellectual aspect was a revolt against the Romantic-Realist attitudes of the nineteenth century; and in its technical aspects it was a revolt against photographic and Impressionist procedures in painting. At the same time it was an effort—and a most amazingly successful effort—to create classical pictures based on the concept that Architecture is the Mother of the Arts.

This Renaissance took form between 1884 and 1900. The pioneers were Renoir, whose *Tyson Baigneuses* (Pl. 105) was painted in 1885, and Seurat, whose *Un Dimanche d'été à la Grande Jatte* (Pl. 133), was painted in the same year. Seurat continued with a series of pictures exhibited between 1884 and 1890 at the Salon des Indépendants, of which he was one of the founders in 1884. Cézanne had begun to work on the classical basis about 1877, and he arrived at his completely classical manner about 1895 when he was approaching sixty.

The movement has brought about a regeneration of the art of painting. In 1880 it looked as though the camera had destroyed the faculties of perception and imagination in all European painters. France seemed to have nothing to look forward to but an endless succession of Fantin-Latours and Bonnats producing black-and-white photographs in oil colours, and of Manets painting Kodak snapshots in a formula of pinkish-yellows for the lights and blues for the shadows. To-day, half a century later, we see on every hand an art that has completely abandoned competition with the camera and has become as fundamentally formal as the art of architecture of which it is a part.

PAUL CÉZANNE

ij. *Paul Cézanne*

BORN AIX-EN-PROVENCE 1839.

DIED AIX-EN-PROVENCE 1906

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Rocky Landscape, Aix
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Self portrait, c. 1882
London.	National Gallery, Millbank	Bathers. (Four male figures)
London.	Lord Ivor Spencer Churchill Collection	Self portrait with felt hat, c. 1880
London.	Lord Ivor Spencer Churchill Collection	Bathers (six male figures), c. 1885 ?
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	L'Amour en plâtre
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	L'homme à la pipe, c. 1891
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Les Grands Arbres, c. 1887 ?
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Le lac d'Annecy, 1897
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	La Montagne Sainte-Victoire, c. 1887
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Still life. Le Pot de Fleurs, c. 1895 ?
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Les Joueurs de Cartes (two figures), 1891
London.	Tooth (Brandon-Davis) Collection	The House in the Wood (Le Tholonet)
London.	Reid and Lefevre Collection	L'Enlèvement, 1867-1868
Wales.	Miss Davies Collection	Paysage Provençale
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Mardi Gras, 1888
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	The Poorhouse on the Hill (La Colline des Pauvres)
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	Man with a straw hat, 1873
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	L'Etaque
New York.	Metropolitan Museum	Landscape with Mont Sainte-Victoire
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	Still life
New York.	Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection	Rocks—Forest of Fontainebleau
New York.	Chester Dale Collection	Portrait of Louis Guillaume, 1879
New York.	Chester Dale Collection	Still life. (Liqueur bottle, water-bottle, glass, fruit and drapery)



PAUL CÉZANNE
Les Grandes Arches

PAUL CÉZANNE

New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Still life. (Primula, apples and drapery)
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	L'Estaque
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Mme Cézanne. (Three-quarter length; red dress; green patterned chair), c. 1890?
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Head of l'oncle Dominique, c. 1864
New York.	Private Collection	L'homme au bonnet de coton, c. 1865
New York.	Private Collection	Mme Cézanne, c. 1875?
New York.	Dr. H. Bakwin Collection	La Femme Accoudée, c. 1875
New York.	Private Collection	Chocquet in his Study, 1885
New York.	J. Stransky Collection	The Boy by the Brook, c. 1870?
New York.	J. Stransky Collection	Still life with ginger jar, pears and drapery, c. 1885
New York.	Dr. F. H. Hirschland Collection	Gardanne, c. 1885
Washington.	Phillips Memorial Gallery	La Montagne Sainte-Victoire
Washington.	Phillips Memorial Gallery	Self portrait, c. 1890
Boston.	R. Treat Paine Collection	Self portrait in a cap, c. 1902?
Boston.	J. Nicholas Brown Collection	Road near Auvers, 1872-1877
Chicago.	Art Institute. Berson Collection	The Bay from L'Estaque
Cleveland.	R. Coe Collection	The Pigeon Tower, c. 1894
Burlington (Vermont).	J. Winterbotham Collection	Apples and Drapery, c. 1890
Paris.	Louvre	La Maison du Pendu, 1872
Paris.	Louvre	Les Joueurs de Cartes. (Two figures), 1891
Paris.	Louvre	Three still-life pictures
Paris.	Louvre	Cour de Village, Auvers, 1873
Paris.	Pellerin Collection	L'oncle Dominique, 1864
Paris.	Pellerin Collection	Leda au cygne, 1868
Paris.	Pellerin Collection	Portrait of Chocquet, 1874
Paris.	Pellerin Collection	Baigneurs, 1884
Paris.	Pellerin Collection	Portrait of Gustave Geffroy, 1895
Paris.	Pellerin Collection	Les Grandes Baigneuses, 1895-1902
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Portrait of Zola, 1860
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Mlle Marie Cézanne, 1865
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Portrait of M. Vollard, 1899
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Les Joueurs de Cartes. (Five figures), 1892

PAUL CÉZANNE

Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Aisle of Trees, c. 1894 ?
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	La Montagne Sainte-Victoire, c. 1903
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Paysage avec baigneuses, c. 1903
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Deux arbres (Les Grands Arbres), c. 1903
Paris.	A. Vollard Collection	Paysan assis, c. 1903 ?
Paris.	Kapferer Collection	Le Jas de Bouffan, before 1899
Paris.	P. Cézanne Collection	Self portrait at the easel, 1888
Paris.	P. Cézanne Collection	Self portrait at the easel, 1888
Paris.	P. Cézanne Collection	Le Jas de Bouffan, before 1899
Paris.	P. Cézanne Collection	Le Cabanon de Jourdan, 1906
Paris.	P. Cézanne Collection	Cézanne Père, 1872
Paris.	P. Cézanne Collection	Landscape, l'Estaque
Paris.	P. Cézanne Collection	Still life with flowered jug.
Paris.	Wildenstein Collection	Still life with a black clock, c. 1870
Paris.	Wildenstein Collection	Harlequin, 1888
Paris.	Jacques Doucet Collection	La Femme au chapelet, 1896
Paris.	Jacques Doucet Collection	Paysage avec rochers, 1883
Paris.	Paul Guillaume Collection	Mme Cézanne assise (full length)
Paris.	Paul Guillaume Collection	Mme Cézanne en bleu
Paris.	Sacha Guitry Collection	Self portrait, 1882-1885
Paris.	E. Bignou Collection	L'enfant à la poupée, 1894 or 1897
Paris.	E. Bignou Collection	Still life : apples
Paris.	Jos Hessel Collection	Les Sables rouges
Paris.	Jos Hessel Collection	Mme Cézanne sewing, c. 1880
Paris.	Dr. Gevres Viau Collection	La Montagne Sainte-Victoire et La Vallée de l'Arc, 1887
Lausanne.	C. F. Reber Collection	Le Garçon au gilet rouge, c. 1888
Lausanne.	C. F. Reber Collection	Mme Cézanne in a striped blouse, 1874-1875
Lausanne.	C. F. Reber Collection	Jeune homme à la tête de mort. (Le Philosophe), c. 1895 ?
Munich.	Neue Pinakothek	La Tranchée, 1868
Munich.	Neue Pinakothek	Nature morte à la commode, 1883
Helsingfors.	Museum	Fond du ravin, l'Estaque, 1880-1885
Moscow.	Museum of Modern Art. Morosoff Collection	La Montagne Sainte-Victoire



London, S. Courtauld Collection

PAUL CEZANNE. L'homme à la pipe.



Paris. Musée Gellroy.

PAUL CÉZANNE. Gustave Gellroy.

CÉZANNE'S LIFE

(a) *Cézanne's Life*

Paul Cézanne was the son of a hat manufacturer of Aix-en-Provence, who later became a banker and a man of means. He was trained for the law but soon discovered his artistic bent. In 1863, when he was twenty-two, it was decided that he would adopt painting as his profession and that his father would make him an annual allowance of 3600 francs. He received this allowance (equivalent to rather more than £300 a year in English money of to-day) for twenty-three years. At the end of that time when he was forty-six he was still unable to support himself by his pictures; he had hardly in fact sold anything at all.¹

At an art school in Paris Cézanne met Pissarro; he saw Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* at the *Salon des Refusés*, and later met Manet himself, Renoir, Monet, Sisley and Bazille. Zola, who was also an Aixois, was already his friend.

In 1866 he submitted pictures (which have now disappeared) to the Salon; the pictures were rejected, and he wrote to the Surintendant des Beaux Arts demanding a new *Salon des Refusés*, but without result.

In 1867 he saw the one-man shows of Courbet and Manet in the *Exposition Universelle*. He married in that year.

He spent some time every year with his family at Aix and in 1870 when war broke out he was staying at his father's country farm-house, *Le Jas de Bouffan*, and painting landscapes. He remained in the south throughout the war, painting at, among other places, L'Estaque on the bay opposite Marseilles.

In 1872 he returned to Paris. In the summer of that year and of succeeding years till 1877 he painted landscapes near Paris—at Auvers, Pontoise and Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône.²

At Auvers he worked a good deal in the company of Pissarro and there too he met Dr. Gachet already mentioned in connection with Van Gogh. *La Maison du pendu*, now in the Louvre, was painted at Auvers in 1872.

¹ His father died in 1886, and he then seems to have inherited some property. He succeeded to a third share in the family capital when his mother died in 1897.

² There are several of these landscapes in the Pellerin Collection.

CÉZANNE'S LIFE

In 1873, as already noted, he sent *La Maison du pendu* to the first Impressionist exhibition, and in connection with this exhibition he met Chocquet whose portrait, now in the Pellerin Collection, he painted in the following year. Chocquet was the first collector to appreciate his work.¹

He did not contribute to the second Impressionist exhibition of 1876, but in 1877 he sent his portrait of Chocquet to the third, and painted several portraits of his wife.²

After 1877 he no longer exhibited with the Impressionists; from 1878 to 1889 he worked almost exclusively in the Midi, and only one of his pictures was publicly shown in Paris—a portrait which he sent to the Salon in 1882.³

By 1889 his name had quite dropped out of artistic life in Paris; his work was under-rated by the Impressionist leaders and it had not yet been discovered by the new generation of the Salon des Indépendants.⁴

In 1889 he returned to Paris and between 1890 and 1894 he worked there, at Fontainebleau, and at Aix; he also made a

¹ The 1874 portrait is a head study. In 1885 he stayed with Chocquet at Hattenville, and painted a full-length portrait of his host in his study (which is now in a private collection in New York). A third portrait painted in 1885 in Chocquet's garden, shows the sitter in a white jacket with a background of foliage. I do not know the present whereabouts of the third picture. Chocquet by 1899 owned thirty-three paintings by Cézanne, including *Le Mardi-Gras* and *La Maison du pendu*.

² Cézanne painted portraits of Mme Cézanne at all periods. I have indicated the present whereabouts of several in the list above. He also painted self portraits and still-life studies at all periods.

³ One of Cézanne's friends, the painter Guillemet, was on the Salon Jury in that year. Every member of the Jury had a right to hang one picture from those rejected by the Jury as a whole. Guillemet rescued Cézanne's portrait—which was catalogued as *Portrait de M. L.-A.* Its identity is not now known.

⁴ Between 1877 and 1889 he stored his pictures in Paris with the artist-colourman Tanguy (Van Gogh's Père Tanguy), who showed them to artists and amateurs. Tanguy apparently had permission to sell the pictures on a fixed scale, 40 francs for the small sizes and 100 francs for the large ones. Very few were sold; but Duret bought some about 1879 at these prices. In 1889 one of Cézanne's pictures was shown at the *Exposition Universelle*. It was lent by Chocquet, who refused to lend other things which the Committee wanted unless it was accepted. In the exhibition the picture was "skied." I have not been able to identify it.



London, Museum

JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON CHARDIN. Still life.



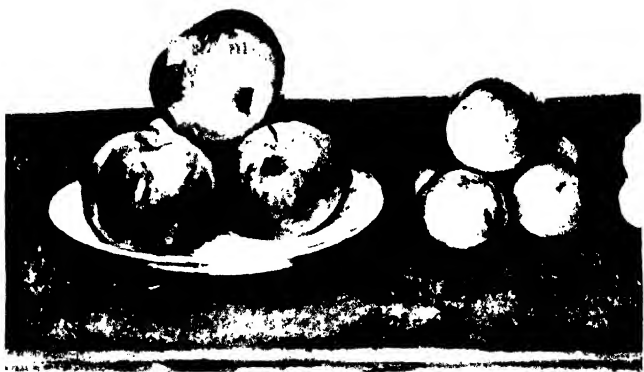
Collection of M.M. Wildenstein et Cie, Paris and New York

PAUL CÉZANNE. Still life with clock.



Le Pot de Fleurs, 1895-1900.

PAUL CEZANNE. Le Pot de Fleurs.



Les Pommes, 1895-1900.

PAUL CEZANNE. Apples.

CÉZANNE'S ART

journey to Switzerland where he was not moved to paint. The well-known pictures called *Les Joueurs de Cartes* date from this period. *L'homme à la pipe* (Pl. 129), now in Mr. Courtauld's collection in London, was painted from one of the peasants who sat for these pictures.¹

In 1892, when Cézanne was fifty-three, the dealer, Ambroise Vollard, began to take an interest in his pictures; appreciative articles by the critic Gustave Geffroy began to appear in the papers; and Cézanne's work began to be discussed in Parisian art circles. In 1895 he painted the *Portrait of Gustave Geffroy* (Pl. 130) and began *Les Grandes Baigneuses* (Pl. 124b), both now in the Pellerin Collection; Vollard opened a shop in the rue Laffitte to exhibit and sell his pictures; and the Luxembourg Museum refused three bequeathed by Caillebotte.²

The superb picture *Le Lac d'Annecy* (Pl. 127), now in the Courtauld Collection, was painted in 1897. In 1899 he finally retired to Aix, where he remained (with a short visit to Paris in 1904) till his death in 1906.

In 1899, when he was sixty, he was persuaded by the artists of the Salon des Indépendants to exhibit two still-life pictures and a landscape; he exhibited in that Salon also in 1901 and 1902. In 1904 the Salon d'Automne allotted a room to his pictures; the *Portrait of Gustave Geffroy* (Pl. 130) was in the Salon d'Automne in 1905. A retrospective exhibition was held in the Salon d'Automne in 1906.

(b) Cézanne's Art

Cézanne n'était qu'un lamentable raté.

(A. M., *La Lanterne*, 1904).

Cézanne n'a fait ni un tableau ni une œuvre.

(E. Schuffenecker, *Mercure de France*, 1905).

Rien à dire des tableaux de Cézanne. C'est de la peinture de vidangeur saoul.

(Victore Binet, *Mercure de France*, 1905).

¹ Cézanne painted several versions of *Les Joueurs de Cartes*; some represent two figures; others more. I have indicated the present whereabouts of several in my list.

² Cf. note, p. 243, 244.

CÉZANNE'S ART

Cet bonnête vieillard qui peint en province pour son plaisir . . . et produit des œuvres lourdes, mal bâties . . . n'a jamais pu produire ce qu'on appelle une œuvre.

(Camille Mauclair, *La Revue*, 1905).

If the greatest name in European painting is not Cézanne it is Giotto.

(Mr. Clive Bell, 1920).

Cézanne's organisation of the lines and planes of his pictures will stand as an even greater achievement than his work with colour.

(Walter Pach, 1925).

With Cézanne a mere crumpled tablecloth may take on the majesty of a mountain.

(Sir Charles Holmes, 1927).

We can write critically of Cézanne now ; we can treat him with as little respect as we treat Rembrandt, Rubens or Titian.

(Anthony Bertram, 1929).

The fumbling Cézanne.

(James Greig, *London Morning Post*, 1931).

There is really no mystery about these pictures which we thus see described on the one hand as "drunken scavenger's painting" and on the other as the greatest productions of European painting.

Cézanne began as a follower of Courbet. In the 'sixties he painted with heavy colours and often applied them with a palette knife, as in *L'Oncle Dominique*, now in Mr. Lewisohn's collection in New York. His touch and colour were still heavy in 1870, when he painted the *Still life with a black clock* (Pl. 131b), now owned by Messrs. Wildenstein in Paris.

In these years he was an earnest student in the Louvre. He admired the Venetians, the Baroque masters, Poussin and Delacroix. *L'Enlèvement*, which now belongs to Messrs. Reid and Lefevre in London, reveals an impulse to emulate these masters.

In the early 'seventies when he painted *La Maison du pendu*, he was influenced by Pissarro ; but he never saw eye to eye with the other Impressionists and Manet's Kodak snapshot manner did not interest him at all. At the end of the 'seventies he adopted, nevertheless, the Impressionists' light palette, and the



Chicago, Art Institute

GEORGES SEURAT. Un Dimanche d'Été à la Grande Jatte.



London, S. Courtauld Collection

GEORGES SEURAT, *Le Pont de Courbevoie*.



Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Center

GEORGES SEURAT, *Landscape study for La Grande Jatte*.

CÉZANNE'S ART

task which he set himself was the grafting of Impressionism on to the main tree of classical art.¹

From the outset he had been at heart an architectural artist. If we compare his *Still life with a black clock* (Pl. 131b) with Chardin's *Still life* (Pl. 131a) in the Amiens Museum, or with Chardin's *Still life* (Pl. 62a) in Boston, we see the formal character of Cézanne's preoccupation even in this early work. He is already less concerned with the objects before him as objects and more with their formal relations than was the case with Chardin; and later, when he had schooled his perception and mastered his language of expression, he painted still-life groups in which the formal relations, which include relations of colour, constitute the central content of the picture as a whole. *Le Pot de fleurs* (Pl. 132a), in Mr. Courtauld's collection, is an example of this later style.²

Like Chardin, he never wearied of painting still-life; but he also attacked the same problems in compositions—usually of bathers—in figure-studies and portraits, and in landscapes, painted mainly in the South.

The figure-studies culminate in *Le Garçon au gilet rouge*, painted about 1888, and now in the Reber Collection, Lausanne, *Les Joueurs de Cartes*, painted about 1892, and now in the Vollard Collection, *Le jeune homme à la tête de mort*, also called *Le Philosophe*, painted about 1895 and now in the Reber Collection, and the great *Portrait of Gustave Geffroy* (Pl. 130), now in the Pellerin Collection in Paris.

These pictures appeal not only by their majestic architecture, but also by that intimate contact with life which we have already observed as a characteristic of one aspect of French art. This quality in Cézanne's figure-studies and portraits, has not, I think, been adequately stressed by commentators. Everyone (except my friend the art critic of the *London Morning Post*) now recognises that Cézanne was a superb architect and a consummate technician. But architectural power and craftsmanship

¹ Cézanne's two definitions of his aims say the same thing in different ways: "*Faire du Poussin sur nature*" and "*faire de l'Impressionisme l'art des musées.*"

² Others are the superb still-life groups now in the collections of Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale and Mr. Adolph Lewisohn of New York, and of M. P. Cézanne in Paris.

CÉZANNE'S ART

are not in themselves sufficient to place a painter with the small group to whom the civilised world pays homage as masters of the very highest rank. Cézanne enters this company, as Renoir enters it, partly because, at moments, he could use his architectural science to capture contact with root simplicities and the very springs of life itself. He enters this company partly because he was not only the painter of *Les Grandes Baigneuses* (Pl. 124b), but also the painter of *L'homme à la pipe* (Pl. 129).

In the history of the regeneration of modern painting *Les Grandes Baigneuses* (Pl. 124b) is a very important and significant picture. I reproduce it on the same page as Raphael's *School of Athens* (Pl. 124a), and from the juxtaposition we can see the architecture that is the central content of both works. But Cézanne, who makes Chardin's still-life painting look material, makes Raphael's seem almost mechanical and cold.

In Cézanne's landscapes we find the same intimate contact with the spirit of his subject that we find in the figure-subjects and the portraits. Cézanne was born in the Midi; he was not a sun-starved Northerner like Van Gogh; he could work in the sun without losing his head; he knew and loved every foot of the country which he has immortalised, and his pictures symbolise that knowledge and that love. But he never copied what he chanced to see before him. His landscapes are among the most architectural of his works; and at his highest level, as in *Le lac d'Annecy* (Pl. 127) and *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire* (Pl. 125), both in Mr. Courtauld's collection, and in the *Rocky Landscape*, in the London National Gallery, Millbank, the planes are dovetailed with skill and ingenuity only comparable with Poussin's skill and ingenuity in the landscape of the *Funeral of Phocion* (Pl. 35b), in the Louvre.

Cézanne is even more incontrovertibly a master in his landscapes than in his figure-studies and his portraits. Like Poussin, he could make his picture a microcosm by a space concept of which every imagined particle was realised; and he was a greater landscape painter than Poussin because he achieved the realisation not only in the formal field but also—if the word can be used of a landscape—in the psychological field as well.

Cézanne's supreme skill of hand in his later years is not

CÉZANNE'S ART

apparent to the uninstructed because he refused to permit himself the slightest bravura or the slightest fake. *Pas d'emportement du pinceau* was his motto as it had been the motto of Louis David. He meditated every touch. For the *Portrait of Gustave Geffroy* (Pl. 130) he had eighty sittings; for a portrait of M. Vollard, which he eventually abandoned, he had a hundred and fifteen, and at the end he pronounced himself "*pas méconnaissant du devant de la chemise.*"¹

In his later pictures Cézanne began with the architectural structure. In *Le lac d'Annecy* (Pl. 127), for example, he would have begun with the arch formed by the boughs of the tree which join with the sky and mountains at the back of the picture. If he was not satisfied at any stage that the architecture was holding together in every direction he abandoned the canvas and began again.²

Of this architecture, colour was an integral and central constituent. Cézanne was one of the world's great colourists. I know no landscape finer in colour than *Le lac d'Annecy* (Pl. 127). He had made an intensive study of the Old Masters in the Louvre, as already noted, and he knew that the great colourists never copied the colours that they saw before them; he knew that the colour of Titian, Rubens and Watteau was "artificial"; he also knew that Renoir's colour was the same. In his compositions of bathers the exquisite mother-of-pearl flesh tints are in this great tradition; and in landscape he founded a new tradition of "artificial" colour of his own.

Corot and the photographic painters of the nineteenth century had achieved imitations of effects of light and shade by destroying local colour and painting "by the tone values." The Impressionists had ignored local colour and substituted arbitrary colours symbolising light. Cézanne knew that the Old Masters had rejoiced in local colour and exploited it in glorious ways; he, too, rejoiced and exploited local colour, and he succeeded in painting sunlight at the same time.

¹ The sittings for this picture have been amusingly described by M. Vollard in his *Paul Cézanne*.

² In his later manner he used thin transparent colour and every touch contributed to the final result. This method precluded the drastic alterations which are possible with opaque colour.

GEORGES SEURAT

It was thus that he converted Impressionism into the *art des musées*. In the same way he refused to follow the Romantics, the photographic painters, and the Impressionists, in their sacrifice of architecture to the imitation of effects of atmospheric perspective. He contrived to render that perspective without sacrificing his architectural concept of defined and dovetailed space.¹

Cézanne's pictures have been understood and valued in most countries for the last twenty years. His reputation in England has grown more slowly because relatively few of his finest pictures have been publicly exhibited in London; and the growth of his reputation everywhere has been impeded because he left a great many unfinished pictures and water-colours which, though intensely interesting to students of his method, mean relatively little to anyone else.

iij. *Georges Seurat*

BORN PARIS 1859.

DIED PARIS 1891

CHARACTERISTIC PICTURES

London.	National Gallery, Mill-bank	La Baignade, 1883-1884
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	La Poudreuse, 1890
London.	S. Courtauld Collection	Le Pont de Courbevoie, 1887
London.	Mrs. Chester Beatty Collection	Landscape Study for La Grande Jatte, 1884-1886
London.	Messrs. Reid & Lefevre	Honfleur: L'Hospice et le Phare, 1886
New York.	S. C. Clark Collection	Boy on the river bank. Study for La Baignade, 1883
New York.	A. Lewisohn Collection	Study for La Grande Jatte, 1884-1886
New York.	Private Collection	Port-en-Bessin, 1885 or 1888
New York.	J. Stransky Collection	The Mower, c. 1882
New York.	Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Sachs Collection	Study for the left-hand portion of La Grande Jatte, 1884
New York.	Private Collection	The woman with the monkey. Study for the right-hand portion of La Grande Jatte, 1884

¹ I have discussed other aspects of Cézanne's technique in *The Modern Movement in Art*.



Paris. Louvre

GEORGES SEURAT. Le Cirque.



The Hague. Mme Kruller Muller Collection

GEORGES SEURAT. *Le Chabut.*

SEURAT'S LIFE

New York.	Private Collection	Drawing for the seated woman with a sunshade in <i>La Grande Jatte</i> , 1884
New York.	Private Collection	Woman Sewing, c. 1883
New York.	Messrs. Knoedler Collection	The Naval base at Port-en-Bessin, 1888
Chicago.	Art Institute (Birch Bartlett Collection)	Un Dimanche d'Été à Grande Jatte, 1884-1886
Philadelphia.	Barnes Foundation	Les Poseuses, 1887-1888
Paris.	Louvre	Le Cirque, 1890-1891 ¹
Paris.	P. de Marées Collection	Entrée du port, Honfleur, 1886
Paris.	MM. Bernheim Jeune Collection	La Parade, 1887-1888
Paris.	Jos Hessel Collection	Sketch for <i>La Baignade</i> , 1884
Paris.	Paul Rosenberg et Cie Collection	The Beach at Le Crotoy, 1889
Paris.	Aman-Jean Collection	Portrait of Aman-Jean (drawing), 1883
The Hague.	Mme Kröller-Müller Collection	Le Chaînat, 1889-1890

(a) *Seurat's Life*

Georges Seurat was the son of a bailiff of La Villette, Paris, from whom he seems to have received an allowance all his life sufficient for his requirements. I can find no record that he was ever in financial distress or that he made any money by his work.²

After an ordinary education he worked for four years at the Ecole des Beaux Arts; then he shared a studio with the painter Aman-Jean and worked in the Louvre and the Library of the

¹ This picture was bequeathed to the Louvre by the late John Quinn of New York.

² Coquiot in his *Seurat* states that he only sold four or five works in the ten years in which he practised as an artist.

At Seurat's death his paintings and drawings were divided between his mother, his mistress, and a few friends who included the painter Paul Signat, first owner of *Le Cirque* (Pl. 135), Emile Verhaeren, first owner of *Honfleur: L'Hospice et le Phare* (Pl. 111b), Felix Fénéon, first owner of *La Baignade*, and Edmond Cousturier, first owner of *Un Dimanche à la Grande Jatte* (Pl. 133).

In 1900, nine years after Seurat's death, one of his pictures was sold at auction in Paris for twenty-seven francs. In 1901 fifty-three of his works (paintings and drawings) were collected into an exhibition on the Boulevard des Italiens, and not one was sold.

SEURAT'S LIFE

Ecole des Beaux Arts studying the Old Masters. Of the nineteenth-century painters he admired Ingres and Delacroix—especially Delacroix's decorations in Saint Sulpice. He also studied Charle Blanc's *La grammaire des arts du dessin* and Chevreul's *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs et de l'assortiment des objets coloriés* either at this period or on his return from a year's military service where he acquired his first experience of harbours and ports.

In 1881, at the age of twenty-one, he took a studio and began an intensive concentration on pictorial problems; he continued for ten years, working by day and by night in his Paris studio and out of doors at various places.

In 1881 and 1882 he worked occasionally in the country round Paris. In 1883 he made studies of boating and bathing at Asnières which culminated in *La Baignade*, now in the London National Gallery, Millbank. In 1884 he began to make studies on the Island of La Grande Jatte and at Courbevoie on the same stretch of the Seine; these studies culminated in *Un Dimanche d'Été à la Grande Jatte* (Pl. 133), now in the Chicago Art Institute, and *Le Pont de Courbevoie* (Pl. 134a), now in Mr. Courtauld's collection in London. In 1884 he took part in the foundation of the *Salon des Indépendants* at which he was a regular and leading exhibitor for the rest of his life.

In 1885 he worked at Grandcamp and on the Grande Jatte; in 1886 and 1887 at Honfleur and at Courbevoie; in 1888 at Port-en-Bessin and in Parisian music-halls; in 1889 at Le Crotoy, in 1890 at Port-en-Bessin, and in 1891 at Gravelines.

When in Paris he lived in his studio and took most of his meals at his mother's house. The sitter for *La Poudreuse* was his mistress and the mother of his son. In 1891, at the age of thirty-one, he was attacked by some infectious form of pneumonia of which he died. His little son was infected and died too.

Seurat was very reserved about his private affairs. His most intimate friends were unaware of the existence of his mistress. As Seurat painted on a scientific system he could paint by artificial light and his working day was regularly prolonged into the night. It is assumed that the pneumonia to which he succumbed might not have proved fatal had his constitution not been debilitated by this habitual overwork.



Paris. Collection of the Galerie Guichard, Paris.

LE DOUANIER ROUSSEAU. Flower Piece.



Paris. Paul Guichard Collection.

LE DOUANIER ROUSSEAU. Fleurs de Poète.



New York: Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale Collection

LE DOUANIER ROUSSEAU. Jungle with Wild Beasts.



U.S. F. P. C. 77-7-1

LE DOUANIER ROUSSEAU. Jungle with Monkeys.

SEURAT'S ART

(b) *Seurat's Art*

Seurat was a scientific artist of great intellectual powers and incredible industry and patience. With Cézanne he set the standard of conscientious workmanship that has been an outstanding feature of the Cubist-Classical Renaissance as a whole.

In his ten working years he produced seven important figure compositions and twenty or thirty pictures of harbours and ports. The compositions are *La Baignade* now in the National Gallery, Millbank, *Un Dimanche d'Été à la Grande Jatte* (Pl. 133) now in the Chicago Art Institute, *Les Poseuses* now in the Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia, *La Parade* now in MM. Bernheim Jeune's collection in Paris, *Le Chabot* (Pl. 136) now in Mme Kröller-Müller's collection in The Hague, *Le Cirque* (Pl. 135) now in the Louvre, and *La Poudreuse* now in Mr. Courtauld's collection in London.¹

The character of Seurat's art is immediately apparent if we compare his *Honfleur : L'Hospice et le Phare* (P. 111b) with Manet's *Les Courses à Longchamp* (Pl. 111a), which I reproduce above it. Seurat at the very beginning of the 'eighties had the intelligence to realise that Kodak-snapshot Impressionism had already run its course, and that, unless the painter was prepared to acknowledge defeat by the camera, painting must be brought back to the classical basis. Like David and Cézanne, he wrote *Pas d'emportement du pinceau* and *faire du Poussin sur nature* on his doorpost.

To do this he began by the theoretical study of the laws of pictorial harmony and contrast; he made hundreds of drawings of experimental combinations of lines, and hundreds of charcoal drawings from nature in which he sought to recapture the art of chiaroscuro as it was understood by artists before the camera arrived.

From this he proceeded to a theoretical grasp of the action of colour, and he made scores of colour experiments in which, with the aid of Chevreul's book already mentioned, he elaborated the Impressionists' empirical use of the spectrum palette to a

¹ *La Poudreuse* and *La Baignade* are reproduced in my *Modern Movement in Art*.

SEURAT'S. ART

complete system with separated spots of colour which took on the required relations to their neighbours when the picture was contemplated from a distance as a whole. His large pictures were painted spot by spot in accordance with this system.¹

Seurat eliminated all spontaneity and all records of his mechanical vision from his pictures. He used the Impressionist technique for sketches; he then analysed this material; and he then made a synthesis for the final work. For *Un Dimanche d'Été à la Grande Jatte* (Pl. 133), he painted scores of Impressionist oil sketches as a beginning; he then worked out in his studio every aspect of the picture separately considered. Mrs. Chester Beatty in London has his preliminary worked-out study for the landscape (Pl. 134b); Mr. Adolph Lewisohn in New York has a version of the whole picture which stands half-way between the first Impressionist sketches and the final work; and there are scores of charcoal drawings in which the exact tonal relations of each figure to the surrounding passages are meticulously set down.

It should be observed that, like Cézanne, Seurat did not find it necessary to paint Venus and Adonis, or Paris and Helen, to indicate his return to the most austere conceptions of classical art. He accepted the subjects of the Impressionists. He painted holiday-makers by the riverside, dancers in music halls and performers in a circus. He took the same material as Renoir (Pls. 104b, 107 and 112b) and Degas (Pls. 114b, 118a, and 116), and in frequenting the circus he was following the example of his friend Toulouse-Lautrec. But from Seurat's standpoint these records by Renoir, Degas and Lautrec were journalism. He foresaw the day when this type of record would appear every morning in the illustrated newspapers and every evening in the cinema. The task he set himself was the use of this material not for descriptive or Romantic but for architectural ends.

In *Les Poseuses* and *La Grande Jatte* (Pl. 133) Seurat was concerned with the creation of static compositions, with recapturing, for example, the stability and serenity of Le Sueur's *Mass of St. Martin of Tours* (Pl. 25). In *Le Chahut* (Pl. 136) and *Le Cirque* (Pl. 135) he attacked the problem of retaining this serenity and at the same time symbolising gaiety and movement

¹ The system was known as *Pointillisme*.



Paris. Paul Guillaume-Brandon Don. Collection

LE DOUANIER ROUSSEAU. The Wedding.



Paris. MM. Paul Rosenberg, Collection

PABLO PICASSO. Petite fille à l'éventail (1905).

SEURAT'S ART

by linear rhythms. He was still working on this problem when he died.

Seurat's death robbed the twentieth century of a superlatively original artist. Cézanne, of course, was the greater master; his nature was richer and his mind was less dogmatic. But we must not forget that Cézanne studied for fifty years, and Seurat worked for only ten. We can set no limit to the possible achievements of a man who was able to see the path that modern art was bound to follow and to advance himself, in a brief period, so far along the way.

ΕΠΙΛΟΓΕ

- i. *The Douanier Rousseau*
- ij. *Matisse and Picasso*
- iiij. *The Sur-Realists*



Cleveland. Museum of Art

ODILON REDON, Orpheus.



New York: The Dufresne Collection

PABLO PICASSO, *Abstract Composition* (1930).



Paris: The Dufresne Collection

GEORGES BRAQUE, *Still Life Abstraction*.

EPILOGUE

i. *The Douanier Rousseau*

By a strange irony of fate Seurat's intellectual achievements could be compared in successive Salons des Indépendants with the pictures by Le Douanier Rousseau (1844-1910). This extraordinary artist, the son of an ironmonger, was at one time, as his *sobriquet* denotes, an excise official. In his spare time he played the fiddle and painted pictures. About 1886, when he was just over forty, he sent his first pictures to the Indépendants, and some years later he retired from his employment and devoted all his time to painting.

For the remainder of his life he worked in poverty; he kept the wolf from the door by giving violin and painting lessons in the suburb where he lived; he hardly ever sold his pictures, and when he did so he received the smallest sums. Like Chardin, Corot and Cézanne, *il peignait pour son amusement*. His pictures in the Salons des Indépendants eventually attracted the attention of the poet Guillaume Apollinaire and the painters Picasso and Braque who made his acquaintance and helped him in the last ten years.

This uncultured son of the people, who knew nothing of drawing as it was taught in the art schools, and nothing of Impressionism, and who never thought about the struggle of art against the camera, arrived by instinct at a point reached by Seurat by intellectual effort and endless experiments with compasses and rules.

I am not suggesting, of course, that the organisation of Rousseau's pictures (Pls. 137a, 137b, 138a, 138b and 139) has the complex architectural qualities of Seurat's masterpieces; but Rousseau did arrive intuitively at astonishing solutions of architectural problems; he had an instinct for scale and proportion and a compelling decorative sense. Moreover, in so far as Seurat was remarkable for his freedom from the Romantic and photographic concepts of the nineteenth century, he was equalled and surpassed by Rousseau who was free from these concepts, not because he rejected them, but because they never came into his head.

THE DOUANIER ROUSSEAU

Rousseau, as Charles Marriott has put it, "refused to be taught to see." For the public that roared with laughter at his pictures he had nothing but contempt. To an art critic who had referred to his work as "*naïf*" he wrote: "*je ne pourrai maintenant changer ma manière que j'ai acquise par un travail opiniâtre, vous devez le penser.*" In a biographical note which he compiled himself for a publication in 1895 he wrote: "*C'est après de bien dures épreuves que M. Rousseau arriva à se faire connaître du nombre d'artistes qui l'environnent. Il s'est perfectionné de plus en plus dans le genre original qu'il a adopté et est en passe de devenir l'un de nos meilleurs peintres réalistes.*"¹ He was certain that he was really an artist; and he was right.

Rousseau, like the great artists, created a microcosm in his pictures. As a boy he went to Mexico in a military band, and years later he painted a series of jungle pictures that are microcosms of a tropical world. I reproduce his *Jungle with wild beasts* (Pl. 138a), now in the Chester Dale Collection, New York, and his *Jungle with monkeys* (Pl. 138b) in another American collection. Mr. Adolph Lewisohn has his magnificent *Le Repas du Lion*, where a lion devours his prey in a landscape of huge tropical flowers. Another tropical composition, *The Snake Charmer*, formerly in the Jacques Doucet Collection in Paris, is now in the Louvre.²

Seurat—in spite of his immensely elaborate method—preserved an astonishing freshness in his observation, as we see in *La Grande Jatte* (Pl. 133) and *Le Chahut* (Pl. 136). But no man can consciously achieve the freshness and directness of observation that we encounter in Rousseau's group *The Wedding* (Pl. 139). The artist here reveals a delight in discovery and immediate expression that recalls the painters of the windows at Chartres (Pl. 2).

Rousseau, moreover, was a poet. He had real imagination of a very fragrant kind. Mr. Marriott has rightly compared him to the poet Blake. His jungle pictures are pictorial equivalents of Blake's "*Tiger*."³

¹ He added that *comme signe caractéristique* he wore *la barbe broussaillante*.

² Bequeathed by M. Doucet.

³ Rousseau, like Blake, suffered from hallucinations. He frequently "saw spirits," and he believed that his dead wife helped him on days when



Berlin Collection of the Gallery Flechtheim

PABLO PICASSO. *Mother and Child* (c. 1923).

MATISSE AND PICASSO

As a technician Rousseau at his best was faultless. His hand did exactly what his mind, his spirit and his imagination willed.¹

ij. *Matisse and Picasso*

The work of living artists is outside the programme of this book. But I must mention the names of two contemporary masters whose relation to French painting in the first quarter of the twentieth century is the same as that of Cézanne and Seurat to French painting in the last quarter of the nineteenth.

M. Matisse was born in 1869 and is thus now sixty-two. He began to exhibit in the Salon des Indépendants thirty years ago. Like all the artists who have followed Cézanne and Seurat in working out the Cubist-Classical Renaissance, he is a man of great artistic erudition. To a knowledge of the pictures in the Louvre, the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists added a knowledge of Japanese prints. The artists of the modern movement have far wider artistic experience. Thanks to modern facilities for travel and the enormous production of illustrated art-books they are familiar with the art of all times and places—with the art of India and China, of Egypt, Equatorial Africa and Peru. The modern artist has to begin by the heavy work of digesting all this accumulated knowledge.

M. Matisse came to the front as a man who had completed this process of digestion and retained a compelling natural talent unimpaired. His natural gifts are an instinctive sense of scale and decoration, a personal and delightful sense of colour, and an observation which he has contrived to keep as direct and fresh

he was working especially well. There is no doubt that he saw his pictures complete in his mind before he painted them. He painted nothing from nature except the faces in his portraits, and some of his flower pieces.

¹ Rousseau's work was very unequal—inevitably so, since only the conscious and cultivated artist can maintain a consistent level in his work. His pictures fall into four groups: imaginative compositions, portraits, genre subjects and flower pieces. The student will find a list with dates and thirty-nine reproductions (but no information regarding the whereabouts of the pictures) in Philippe Soupault's *Henri Rousseau le Douanier*. I have reproduced and discussed one of Rousseau's genre pictures, *Old Joncet's Cart*, which is remarkable for its architectural qualities, in *The Modern Movement in Art*.

MATISSE AND PICASSO

as the observation of the Douanier Rousseau (Pl. 139), and of the glass painters of the windows at Chartres (Pl. 2).

Like Rousseau, he is a brilliant technician; his hand obeys exactly the dictates of his mind. His calligraphic language of expression, based on mediæval glass painting and Indo-Chinese art, is always perfectly controlled. There is nothing accidental in his pictures. Every line and every space of colour has its allotted function in the picture as a whole. I reproduce his *Jeune femme accoudée* (Pl. 144), a fine example, now in Mr. Adolph Lewisohn's collection in New York.

M. Pablo Picasso is a Spaniard, but he has worked so continuously in Paris and is so closely identified with modern French production that historically he must be included in the French School. He was born at Malaga in 1881, and is thus now fifty.

Picasso has been the central artist of the French School in the first quarter of our century; and he is one of the most interesting and significant artists now alive. His production has been enormous; he has never painted a dull picture or made a dull drawing; he has never ceased to enlarge his experience; he has attacked incessantly problem after problem; he has never abandoned a half-solved problem; and he has never consented to repeat a success. His influence can be seen in paintings all over the civilised world. His followers can be counted by dozens. His imitators abound in every country in Europe, in America and in Japan.

He began as a Romantic-Realist impressed by the achievements of Toulouse-Lautrec. He developed this Romantic-Realism in the so-called "Blue period" and "Pink period," 1901-1906. The pictures of this type produced when he was in the early twenties are very moving and poetical and definitely on the sentimental side. I reproduce as an example *La petite fille à l'éventail* (Pl. 140), which was painted in 1905 and is now in Messrs. Paul Rosenberg's collection in Paris.

In 1907 Picasso abandoned this Romantic production and resolved to contribute to the Cubist-Classical Renaissance. He excluded everything charming from his work and sought to achieve a new classical style by studying the architectural aspects of Negro sculpture. M. Paul Guillaume's *Le Corsage Jaune*,

THE SUR-REALISTS

which has all the magnetic power of an African idol, expressed paradoxically in very *raffiné* colour, is the most imposing production of this period.

In 1910, with Georges Braque he invented Cubism (Pl. 142b), which—as I have tried to explain in *The Modern Movement in Art*—was a drastic forcing back of the art of painting to the root character of architecture.

With the ground thus cleared he began in 1919 to rebuild. He sought to create a new form of monumental painting; and for this purpose he turned to the antique as Poussin and David had turned before him. I reproduce as an example of his monumental “antique” studies the *Mother and Child* (Pl. 143), which was painted about 1923, and is now in the Gallery Flechtheim in Berlin.

But even in this monumental manner M. Picasso’s Romantic temperament works through. The picture is as much a contribution to the history of the Mother and Child *motif* in art as a contribution to the history of monumental painting.

From 1924 onwards M. Picasso has once more damped down his Romantic bias; and he has recently been painting architectural constructions of the character of the *Abstract Composition* (Pl. 142a), which dates from 1930, and is now in the Dudensing Collection in New York.¹

iii. *The Sur-Realists*

In M. Picasso’s later abstract compositions there is a vitality that is not purely architectural in kind. It is a disquieting vitality that evokes the world of nightmares and of dreams; and the contemporary movement known as Sur-Realism has been attempting for some time to develop vitality of this kind.

The Sur-Realists have the precedent of Odilon Redon (1842–1916), who exhibited in the Salon des Indépendants in the ’eighties. But Redon lived before the days of Freud, when the dream-world was still associated with vagueness and blurred

¹ For numerous reproductions of M. Picasso’s work the student is referred to the monographs by André Level and Eugenio D’Ors.

THE SUR-REALISTS

edges, as we see in his *Orpheus* (Pl. 141), now in the Cleveland Museum of Art.

The Sur-Realists, in exploring the dream-world as material for pictures, start by remembering that we believe dream images, in spite of their incredible proportions and juxtapositions, because they are so vivid and so clear.

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